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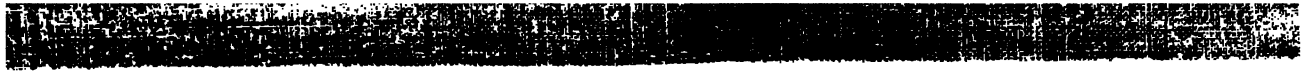

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THREE BOOKS

OF

POLYDORE VERGIL'S ENGLISH HISTORY,

COMPRISING THE REIGNS

OF

HENRY VI., EDWARD IV., AND RICHARD III.

FROM AN EARLY TRANSLATION,

PRESERVED AMONG THE MSS. OF THE OLD ROYAL LIBRARY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED BY

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.

"Ornatissime Polydore, Opera tua sunt eleganter et feliciter excusa."
Erasmi Epist. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1706, *Ep.* DCCLX. 5 *Sept.* 1525.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,
BY JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS AND SON, PARLIAMENT STREET.

M.DCCCXLIV.

[NO. XXIX.]

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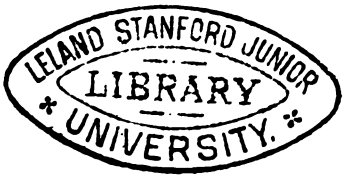

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PREFACE.

POLYDORE VERGIL, otherwise named de Castello, was a native of Urbino in Italy; born in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and educated in the University of Bologna. Of his family we know but little. Burton, who wrote the History of Leicestershire, says his father's name was George Vergil;* he himself tells us that Antony Vergil, his great-grandfather, taught philosophy at Paris; and he had a younger brother whom he mentions with affection, John Matthew Vergil, a professor of Philosophy at Pavia,† who died at a premature age. He had also a

* See Burton's MS. as quoted in Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 538.

† "Habes enim (prout probe scis) Antonium Vergilium proavum nostrum Archetypon, qui medicæ etiam rei ac astrologiæ peritissimus olim apud Gallos, in Lutetia Parisiorum, philosophiam docuit, quam tu Patavii in præsenti publicè profiteris.

"Non est infima utique laus, duos ex Vergiliana familia viros in duobus totius orbis præcipuis gymnasiis, haud longo temporis intervallo, professores bonarum disciplinarum non absque nominis gloria publicitus extitisse. Sed tu qui proavum jam longe relinquis, efficies (spero) ut aliquando posteritas

kinsman of the name of Adrian de Castello, of whom more will be said hereafter.

Polydore himself was first known to the literary world by the publication of a Collection of Proverbs, "Proverbiorum Libellus," printed at Venice in 1498, gathered chiefly from Latin writers, and dedicated to Guido Ubaldo then Duke of Urbino.* It was the first attempt of its kind, and the author was subsequently not a little mortified when Erasmus claimed that same priority for his "Adagia." Polydore Vergil gently reproached him in the preface to his next work: Erasmus protested his unacquaintance with Vergil's previous book; and Polydore expunged the censure. Of this literary collision Polydore's biographers have said more than was sufficient. It created a friendship between these eminent scholars which lasted to the close of Erasmus's life, cemented by the congeniality of their pursuits, and evidenced no where more strongly on Erasmus's part than in his Correspondence.†

dicat, fuisse olim Polydorum quendam, qui illum Joannem Matthæum Vergilium à puero bonis moribus atque disciplinis nutrierat. Vale, Londini nonis Decembris, An. M. D. XVII."

* Other editions of the "Proverbiorum Libellus" were 4to, Ven. 1506; Argentor. 1510; 8 Basle, 1524, 1532; 12o 1536, and 8vo 1541 and 1550. To the edition of 1536 is subjoined a short commentary upon the Lord's Prayer, afterwards, about 1554, said to have been printed separately.

† See particularly the letters DCCLX. DCCCXV. DCCCLIV. MCLXXVI. in Erasmi Epist. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1706.

In 1499 Polydore Vergil published his second work, a Treatise "de Inventoribus Rerum." This also was the first publication of its kind, subsequent to the revival of Literature. It gained him great reputation; was afterwards much enlarged by its author; passed through numerous editions in different countries;* and was translated into several of the modern languages of Europe.†

* "Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis de Inventoribus Rerum, Libri tres," 4to. Ven. 1499; reprinted there in 1503. This work was increased to eight books in the Basle edition of 1521, followed by other editions from the same place in 1524, 1545, 1550, 1554, and 1570, in 8vo and 12mo; printed at Leyden in 1544, 8vo; at Amsterdam, 8o, 1571, and by Dan. Elzevir, 12o 1651 and 1662; Rome, 1576, 8o; Lyons, 1586, 12o; Frankfort, 1599; Geneva, 1604; and Argentorat. 1606, 8o and 12o.

† Two editions of an Italian translation of this work, by Pietro Lauro of Modena, occur, 8o Ven. 1543 and 1545. A Spanish translation by Fr. Thamar Medina, appeared in 8vo 1551.

Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses, edit. Bliss, vol. iii. col. 435, says, that Bale translated Polydore Vergil's work "de Rerum Inventoribus" in the time of Edward VI. but in rude and old English. He does not say whether this translation was published. Three if not four editions of an Abridgement, however, in English, appeared much about that time; viz. One, "An Abridgemente of the Notable Woorke of Polidore Vergile. Conteining the deuisers and fyrste fynders oute as well of Artes, Ministeries, Feactes, and ciuill ordinaunces, as of the Rites and Ceremonies commonly vsed in the churche: and the original beginnyng of the same. Compendiouslye gathered by Thomas Langley." Dedicated to Sir Antonye Denny. "Imprynted at London by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Princes Grace, the xvi. daie of Aprill, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xlvi. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." Square 12mo. Printed also "xxv. Januarie," 1546, which stands as a second edition. A third, "Imprinted at London by Richard Grafton,

Soon after the production of this Treatise we find Polydore holding the office of chamberlain to Pope Alexander the Sixth, by whom, in or soon after 1501, he was sent to England as sub-collector of the tribute called Peter-Pence, under the auspices of Adrian de Castello his kinsman, already mentioned, who had been raised to the purple under the title of Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni, and who was his superior in the office of treasurer and collector of the Papal tribute.*

What was Polydore's immediate reception at the English Court is not recorded, but he is known to have been recommended to Henry the Seventh by those who were acquainted with the king, whilst Earl of Richmond, in his exile.† Polydore's relation, the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni,

Printer to the Kynges Majestie. Anno 1551. Cum priuilegio," as before. 12^mo^. The fourth edition, " Imprinted at London by Jhon Tisdale dwellyng in Knight rider's streate neare to the Queenes Wardrop," 12°. without date. This is the latest edition of " The Abridgement," as we know of no work from Tisdale's press earlier than 1550.

Bayle in his Historical and Critical Dictionary says, " The treatise de Inventoribus Rerum contained several things which the Inquisition disliked, wherefore it approved of no edition but that which Gregory XIII. caused to be printed at Rome in 1576, which was purged of all those passages which displeased the Inquisitors. See also the Index Librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum, p. 850, et seq. 1667, in folio. " Polidori Virgilii de inventoribus rerum Liber, nisi fuerit ex correctis et impressis ab anno 1576."

* Harl. MS. 6966. Excerpta ex Reg. Cath. Wellen.

† See what Burton's MS. says, Nichols's Hist. Leic. ut supr. respecting Guido Duke of Urbino, Polydore Vergil's first patron.

speedily became Bishop of Hereford, and Polydore himself in 1503 was presented to the rectory of Church Langton in Leicestershire.* In the following year, Oct. 20th 1504, when the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni was translated from Hereford to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, we find him enthroned, by commission from the archdeacon of Canterbury, in the person of Polydore as his representative.†

In 1507 Polydore Vergil was collated to the prebend of Scamlesby in the Church of Lincoln ;‡ and early in 1508, at the King's nomination, to the archdeaconry of Wells. In the instrument of appointment he is named "Mr. Polydor Vergill, otherwise Castellen."§

It was now, or a little before, that Henry the Seventh

* "1503. Nov. 16. Dominus Polydorus Castellen. jurium, reddituum, et proventium Cameræ apostolicæ in regno Angliæ debitorum Vice Collector generalis, admissus ad Ecclesiam de Langdon Ecclesia in Archidiaconatu Leycestr." Reg. Smyth Linc. Episc.

† "1504. 20 Oct. Hadrianus tit. Sancti Chrysogoni Presb. Cardinal, translatus ab Episcopatu Heref. auctoritate papali inthronizatur (per commissionem ab Archid. Cantuar.) in persona Polidori Virgilii subcollectoris in regno Angl." Excerpta ex Reg. Cath. Wellen. MS. Harl. 6968, p. 45.

‡ "1507. 13 Apr. Dominus Polidorus Castellen. clericus collat. ad Preb. de Scamlesby in Ecclesia Linc. per mortem Magistri Willelmi Elyot." Reg. Smyth ut supr.

§ The Harleian MS. 6966 contains an abridged copy of the instrument: "Whereas Adrian Card. de Chrysogoni and bishop of Bath and Wells hath, by his sufficient writing granted unto us the nomination . . . Wherefore

requested him to undertake the History, of which a translation of three of the later Books is here presented to the reader. Polydore states the fact circumstantially in the address to his brother, dated at London in 1517, prefixed to the edition of the Treatise "de Inventoribus" which issued from the press of Frobenius at Basle in 1521.

He says, "Veni post hæc, missu Alexandri sexti Romani pontificis in Britanniam, quæ nunc Anglià est, ut quæsturam pontificiam apud Anglos gererem. Ubi ne bonum ocium tererem, rogatu Henrici ejus appellationis Septimi Regis præstantissimi, Res ejus populi gestas scripsi, in historiæque stilum redegi. Quod hercle opus duodecim annos sub literatoria incude laboratum, obstante fato, nondum absolvere licuit."

Antony à Wood mentions Polydore as at this time in great favour with Fox, Bishop of Winchester,* and from several of Erasmus's letters we learn that he was on terms of familiarity with the persons most eminent for

we woll that ye confer for this time only the Archdeaconry of Welles unto M^r^ Polydor Vergill otherwise called Castellen. Geven 6 Jan. 23. regni." The Cardinal de Chrysogoni resided away. Hence Polydore Vergil was as frequently styled Collector as Sub-Collector of the Peter-Pence.

"1507–8. 6 Feb. Polydorus Vergilius alias Castellen. per procur. install. in Archid. Well. et prebend. de Brent annex. installatur personaliter 10 Sept. prox. sequent." Ibid.

* Fasti Oxon. edit. Bliss, 4° Lond. 1815. coll. 8, 9.

rank and learning who moved within the sphere of the court. Sir Thomas More, Pace, Linacre, Tunstal, and Latimer (the preceptor of Cardinal Pole), are especially enumerated as his friends.*

In the beginning of Oct. 1510 he was naturalised;† and in 1513, upon being collated to the prebend of Oxgate in St. Paul's Cathedral, he resigned his prebend of Scamlesby.‡ In 1514 he was employed in assisting Wolsey

* Erasmi Epist. fol. 1706. Two Letters, one from Polydore to Erasmus, the other from Erasmus to Polydore, will be found in the Appendix, Numm. III. IV.

He had a short friendship too with Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld. In the third Book of his History, edit. Bas. 1556, pp. 52, 53, noticing the earliest accounts of the Scottish kings, he says, "Nuper enim Gauinus Douglas Doucheldensis episcopus, homo Scotus, virque summa nobilitate et virtute, nescio ob quam causam, in Angliam profectus, ubi audivit dedisse me jampridem ad historiam scribendam, nos convenit: *amicitiam fecimus:* postea summè rogavit, ut ne historiam paulo antè à quodam suo Scoto divulgatam sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicandis, pollicitusque est se intra paucos dies missurum commentariolum de his neutiquam negligendum, id quod et fecit." He adds, soon after, "Verum non licuit diu uti frui amico, qui eo ipso anno, qui fuit salutis humanæ MDXXI, Londini pestilentia absumptus est."

† Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 1. See the Letters of Naturalization, in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xiii. pp. 290, 291. They were granted, without fine or fee, Oct. 2, 1510.

‡ "1513. 11 Junii, Polider Vergil Castellen. coll. ad preb. de Oxgate in Eccl. S. Pauli Lond. per mortem magistri Johannis Pratt." Reg. Fitzjames Ep. Lond.

"1513. 12 Jul. Magister Oliver Cosen collat. ad preb. de Scamblesby

to attain the Cardinal's hat,* though it seems doubtful whether either he or the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni gave all the aid to Wolsey which that minister expected on the death of Julius II. Certain it is that in 1514 both fell out of favour.

The Cottonian Manuscript, Vitellius, B. II. contains various Letters and Papers, some burnt and injured, which it may not be improper to refer to here. The folio 101* of that volume preserves a Letter of the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni, from Rome, to Wolsey, entreating the continuance of favour to himself and Polydore. He refers to long service on his own part: and says, "taceo meam antiquam fidem, et servitutem viginti quatuor annorum." He resided constantly at Rome, and was one of Wolsey's earliest tools. The same volume, a few leaves on, preserves another Letter, addressed by the whole College of Cardinals to Wolsey, dated Rome, 1st Dec. 1514, recommending the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni, and his "succollector" Polydore, to Wolsey's kindness. At folio 123 we have a long letter from Polydore Vergil himself to the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni dated from London in 1515, giving various intelligence from England; burnt at the edges and im-

in Eccl. Linc. per resign. Magistri Polydori Vergilii." Reg. Smyth Linc. Ep.

* MS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Vitell. B. II. fol. 76, Letter from Polydore Vergil to Wolsey, dated 20 May 1514, but without the name of place.

perfect; possibly an intercepted letter, or it would hardly have been found in the Cottonian Manuscript; in which he says, "de Denariis Sancti Petri pauci sunt qui vellent solvere, dicentibus plurimis se velle videre finem litis; inter quos est etiam *noster bonus Abbas Sancti Albani.*"* It was just at this time that Wolsey received the Abbey of St. Alban's in commendam, and he is probably the person meant. In folio 126[b] we have a fragment of a note to Wolsey, from whom does not appear, but it advises him to caution the King against both the Cardinal and Polydore, and recommends the interception of their letters.†

* Another copy of this Letter occurs in the same volume, fol. 127.

† Polydore Vergil, in his history of the reign of Henry the Seventh, gives the following account of the Cardinal.

"Legarat Innocentius Rom. pontifex Hadrianum Castellensem, hominem Hetruscum natum Corneti, quod veteres Castrum novum vocarant, qui in Scotiam proficisceretur, ad tollendas ipsius autoritate ex illorum principum animis discordias. Is quamvis magnis sit itineribus profectus, tamen cum pervenit in Angliam, cognovit ab Henrico rege, ad quem etiam a pontifice mandata habebat, se tardius venisse quam res requireret, quare ejus monitu, sibi jam pedem referendum, ac ex Anglia non excedendum ratus, vix bidui moram fecerat, cum nuntius cædis Jacobi venit. Mansit deinde Hadrianus in Anglia aliquot menses, in quem à primo Joannes Mortonus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus omnia humanitatis officia conferre studuit, hominis doctrina ac moribus ductus, quippe qui eum in summa etiam apud regem gratia posuit. Atqui Henricus cum hominem sibi a Mortono commendatum videret non minimi esse usus, jam tum mirifice diligere cœpit, ejusque opera cum apud Innocentium, tum apud Alexandrum sextum pontifices, ita deinde usus est, ut primum Herefordensem, et ex eo mox relicto, Batho-

The next we read, is of Polydore in prison, succeeded in his sub-collectorship of the Papal dues by Andrew Ammonius, the King's Latin secretary. The original of

niensem et Wellensem episcopatum ei detulerit. Cæterum Hadrianus brevi post tempore Romam reversus, per omnes honorum gradus in Collegium Cardinalium venit : nam Innocentius eum primò Collectorem, id est, Quæstorem pontificium in Anglia, et Protonotarium unum ex septem creavit, postea Alexander pontifex eundem diu secretiorem familiarem habuit, Cardinalemque fecit. Sed quotusquisque est, qui ista, quæ ignavis juxta atque solertibus et dari et auferri possunt, miretur? Alia nempe Hadriani laus est, et hæc quidem æterna : erant enim in eo plurimæ literæ non vulgares, sed reconditæ, ac summum bonorum delectus judicium, qui memoria nostra primus omnium post illud disertissimum Ciceronis seculum, suis scriptis mortales excitavit, ad perfectas literas de doctissimorum autorum fontibus hauriendas, docuitque modum purè, nitidè, ac luculenter loquendi, sic, ut eo doctore, in præsentia ubique gentium latinitas ab integro renascatur." Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvi. edit. Bas. 1556, pp. 580, 581.

Some of the circumstances of Castello's subsequent life are incidentally alluded to in a later page of Polydore Vergil's History. He was deprived of the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in 1518, at the time of Cardinal Campeggio's approach to England as legate, and while he remained at Calais : undoubtedly to please, if not at the request of, Leo the Tenth.

" Venit in Angliam Laurentius Campegius homo Bononiensis inter jurisconsultos jureconsultissimus, vir paratus meditatusque, cui datus fuit collega Volsæus ; is etenim partem Henrici assiduitate petendi rogandique, partim Francisci regis autoritate, à Leone pontifice Romano sub idem tempus legatus Angliæ creatus erat. Atqui Campegium ubi Caletum pervenit, sive casu, sive dedita opera Volsæus monuit oportere eo loci dies aliquot morari, ac interim multa promissa faciendo, hominem tentare cœpit, ut vellet per Literas apud Leonem pontificem agere, *quò* HADRIANUS CARDINALIS BATHONIENSIS *privaretur episcopatu in quem jam ipse paratus erat invadere.* Fuit autem in promissis Episcopatus Sarisberien-

Ammonius's appointment to this office, from the Cardinal S^ti^. Chrysogoni under Leo the Tenth's direction, dated at Rome, 26 March 1515, follows at fol. 130.

The incarceration of Polydore caused a lively interest to be taken in his fate at Rome. The same volume from which so many documents have been already cited preserves two Letters, one from the Pope, the other from the Cardinal de Medicis to Henry the Eighth, referring to the fact, and soliciting for Polydore's release, and for the restoration of whatever had been seized at his residence.

sis, quem non multo post vacantem ipse Campegius assecutus est, eoque uti frui tandiu licuit, quoad non multò post lege sancitum est, ut absentes in Anglia sacerdotia non possiderent." lib. xxvii. p. 654.

In the next page of Polydore's History we read of the Conspiracy in which Adrian de Castello had previously joined against Leo, and of the vengeance which followed it, of which the deprivation of his English bishopric was no doubt a part.

" Interea Leo non immemor noxiæ, si qua fuerat, Hadrianum et Franciscum [Volaterranum] mulctavit, at non contentus ea præda, ejus satellitum præfectus deinde ad Hadriani ædes quæsitum ivit, si quid intus esset, quod rapi posset. Ejus injuriæ indignitate Hadrianus valde commotus Venetias se contulit, ubi, sicut ejus moris erat, in divinis atque aliis bonis literis, Leone non invito, jam acquiescebat, cùm ecce, inimicorum operatione deturbatur de sui episcopatus possessione, quem Volsæus repentè voravit."

Castello now fled from Venice, and little more was afterwards heard of him. The editor of Chacon, who is followed by Godwin, says, " quo vero tempore Hadrianus hic noster obierit, incertum ; circa annum 1518 scribit Ciaconius : die 16 Januarii anni 1526 illum jam fato cessisse affirmat Contelorius : ferunt in Traciam, Constantinopolim usque, necis metu perterritum fugisse, ibique obscurum ac latentem clausisse diem extremum."

How long he remained in prison we know not, but his letter to his brother, dated at London, in 1517, is endited as from a man at liberty and ease, and we are certain that he forfeited none of his preferments but the sub-collectorship. And that was a loss which he was little likely to deplore.* The Pope's letter however states that he had been imprisoned for many months, before Henry the Eighth was written to.†

In 1522, when Charles the Fifth made his visit to England, in the List of lodgings set apart in London for the Emperor's train, we find, "Item, Poloderus in Paules Churche Yarde; hall, parlour, iij. chambres, iiij. beddes, with all necessaries." Polydore's place occurs in two other lists; in one, with the addition of "wyne i. hogg. bere ij. hogg." Polydore's place, as it is called, was, no doubt, his residence as prebendary of Oxgate.‡

Polydore had long taken the decision to pass the remainder of his life in England, and now devoted himself

* Chalmers, in his Biographical Dictionary, is wrong in representing Polydore Vergil as the last collector of this odious tax in England. He is never subsequently mentioned as returning to the appointment.

Noticing this tribute as established in the Saxon times, Vergil says, "numi illi argentei vocantur vulgo Denarii divi Petri, quos pontificius quæstor, quem non inscienter Collectorem nuncupant, exigit. *Nos hanc olim quæsturam aliquot per annos gessimus*, ejusque muneris obeundi causa primum in Angliam venimus." Hist. lib. iv. pp. 89, 90.

† See these two Letters in the Appendix of Documents, Numm. I. II.

‡ Rutland Papers, published by the Camden Society, pp. 91, 94.

more than ever to his studies, and to the completion of his English History: leaving no inquiry unpursued among our older chroniclers.

It is not generally known to his biographers that in 1525 he published the first genuine edition of Gildas, from a manuscript he himself possessed, collated with another which had been furnished to him by Tunstal, Bishop of London.* This and the just remarks he makes in his own history upon that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, fully evidence the discrimination as well as the care with which he compiled.

In 1526 he published a Treatise "de Prodigiis," 8vo. Lond. consisting of Dialogues and Attacks upon Divination.† This work was reprinted at Basle by Bebelius in

* "Opus novum. Gildas Britannus Monachus cui Sapientis cognomentum est inditum de Calamitate, Excidio, et conquestu Britanniæ, quem Angliam nunc vocant, author vetustus a multis diu desyderatus, et nuper in gratiam D. Cutheberti Tonstalli, Londinen. Episcopi formulis excusus.

"In hoc authore preter multiplicem hic illic Historiarum interpositionem, videre licet gravissimus illius temporis Regum, Principum, Ducum, Epōrum, Sacerdotum, Clericorum, &c. correptiones, vehementi undique spiritus impetu, densis sacrarum literarum testimoniis fortiter armatas." 12°.

The Preface addressed to Tunstall is dated 8 id. April 1525.

This work was reprinted in the "Opus Historiarum, nostro seculo convenientissimum," 8° Bas. 1541: and again, by Josceline, in 1568, dedicated to Archbishop Parker, with the restoration of some passages which had been intentionally omitted by Polydore.

† The preface, addressed to Francis Maria Duke of Urbino, is dated London, 13 cal. August, 1526.

1531, and again by Isingrim in 1545. To it were prefixed three other Tracts by Polydore, "De Patientia et ejus fructu, Libri duo;" "De Vita perfecta;" and "De Veritate et Mendacio."

In 1528 we find him dedicating the translation of a short piece by St. Chrysostom to his friend Erasmus.*

In 1534 his English History appeared in twenty-six Books; printed in folio, at Basle: the dedication of it to King Henry the Eighth, dated at London, "mense Augusto, 1533." A second edition came out at Basle in 1546. These bring the History down to the year 1509. Immediately upon his death a third edition appeared, in twenty-seven Books, fol. Bas. 1555; bringing the History as low as 1538:† this was followed by another edition, fol.

* Whether this Translation appeared in print earlier than 1550 the editor is not certain. It was then appended to an improved edition of the "Adagia." "Polydori Vergilii Urbinatis Adagiorum æque humanorum ut sacrorum opus, per autorem anno isto M.D.L. rursus novissime jam, ac diligentius recognitum, et magnifice locupletatum. Item Divi Joannis Chrysostomi de perfecto Monacho maloque Principe Libellus, eodem Polydoro interprete." 8° Bas. 1550.

Herbert's Ames, i. 342, 388, mentions "A Book conteyning the Commendations of Matrimony, by William Harrington, LL.D." as "Imprinted at the instance of Polydor Virgil, archdeacon of Wells," 1528, 4to. with a preface by him in Latin. Herbert quotes as his authority "Mr. Baker's interleaved Maunsell's Catal."

† "Polydori Vergilii Vrbinatis Anglicæ Historiæ Libri viginti septem, ab ipso autore postremum jam recogniti, adque amussim, salva tamen historiæ

Basle, 1556: by a fifth, in 2 volumes in small octavo, Ghent, 1556-7: by a sixth, fol. Basle, 1570: and a seventh, an octavo, edited by Thysius, who forgot the reign of Henry the Eighth, and then prefixed it to the whole with an apology, 8°, Leyden, 1651.

Burnet acquaints us that, as a member of the Convocation of the Clergy, Polydore Vergil signed the Articles of 1536;* and in that of 1547 the declaration for the Communion in both kinds.†

veritate, expoliti." The following appears as a preface at the back of the title-page to this and the succeeding folio editions.

"ELOGIUM ANGLICÆ HISTORIÆ.

"Paucis ante annis, Polydorus Vergilius Vrbinas edidit historiam suam Anglicam, in qua primum arte conficienda, deinde ordine digerenda, dein de oratione vestienda, quanquam et omnium fermè opinionem expectationemque et atque adeò seipsum superavit; attamen cùm ille in suis de rerum Inventoribus libris demonstraverit, nullam olim artem quæ futura esset excellentior, intra suum stetisse initium, quòd nihil propè sit simul et inventum et perfectum, ex eo voluit eam ipsam historiam regustare, polire, locupletare, id quod biennio pòst, hoc est, anno MD.XXXVI. primum, deinde etiam LIII. naviter fecit, salva tamen ac incolumi illa prisca integritate majestateque veritatis historiæ. Quare optime Lector accipies hoc opus perfectum, quo abhinc sexcentos, ut vetus ille dinumerandi modus usitatus doctis usurpetur, annos, non aliud in eo scribendi genere, haud forsitan temerè dices, latinius elegantiusque compositum fuisse: atque istuc est tibi testatum, quò posses meritò gaudere seculum nostrum tandem aliquando elocutione latina passim purè emendata plenè florere. Quapropter in hac equidem parte vel ipsa Anglia non minus felix censenda est, quòd talem rerum suarum gestarum scriptorem primum habuerit."

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, fol. edit. i. 436.

† Ibid. ii. 102, iii. 360.

In the interim between these two years affairs of business called him to Italy. How long exactly he remained there we are not told, but it was for some time. The fact of his departure is stated by himself in the proœmium to his twenty-seventh Book. Up to that time he had been in the constant habit of marking events as they occurred. When he returned, his health failed; and, perhaps, in that perilous day for churchmen, his courage. He says "secutus est Henricus eo nomine octavus, numero verò Regum vigesimus septimus, cujus res gestas usque ad trigesimum regni ipsius annum perscripsi, qui post hac octo regnavit annos, cùm ipse id temporis in Italiam revocatus fui negotiorum causa, ubi perdiu mansi: at simul ac inde reverti in Angliam, interrupta jam serie rerum publicarum, quas in dies singulos annotare prius solebam, non statim post idem mihi institutum tenere per valetudinem incommodam licuit."

In 1550 the infirmities of age requiring a warmer climate than that he had so long been pleased with, he sought and obtained a licence from King Edward the Sixth to return to his native country: to remain there for life at his pleasure: and, at the same time, to retain the rents and profits of the archdeaconry of Wells, and of his prebend of Nonnington, in the Church of Hereford, "without incurring danger, penalty, or forfeiture."* The

* See the Append. Num. V. Newcourt says he sold the perpetuity of

letters patent state expressly that the indulgence thus afforded to him was in consideration of his literary merits. He likewise retained till his death his prebend of Oxgate in the Cathedral of St. Paul.*

Polydore did not take immediate advantage of his licence, for in 1551 we find him still in London, receiving the further bounty of the Crown. In the Council-Book of that year, Nov. 1st, there is the entry of a warrant to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to deliver to "Polydor Vergill in way of the Kinges Majesties reward the sum of one hundred marks:" and on the 9th of November following another warrant to the Exchequer to pay to "Polydore Vergil in way of the Kings reward the sum of three hundred crowns, after five shillings the

the house at Wells at this time, which belonged to his archdeaconry. Burton assures us he was a benefactor there "in beautifying the choir of the Cathedral Church of Wells with fair arras hangings (which are there at this day, 1636); wherein, in many escocheons, are his Arms; viz. Argent, a laurel tree vert, supported with two crocodiles proper; over which, in a winding label, a scroll is written,

'Hæc Polydori sunt munera Vergilii;'

underneath, in a strait scroll,

'Sum Laurus virtutis honos pergrata triumphis.'"

Nichols's Hist. Leic. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 538.

* "1555, 13 Decemb. Magister Johannes Braban clericus collat. ad preb. de Oxgate in Eccles. S. Pauli *per mortem Polydori Vergilii*." Reg. Edm. Boner. Episc. Lond.

crown."* No intervening entry occurs to show that the one superseded the other; they stand as separate gifts. The following short letter to Sir William Cecil, the original of which is preserved in the Lansdowne MS. N°. 11. art. 66, relates to the later gift.

"Optime Cecilli. S. Initium jungendæ amicitiæ tecum occasio hæc facit. Heri enim adivi ad illustrem Northumbriæ Ducem, mei negotii causa, qui statim petiit an accepissem schedulam a consilio regio subscriptam de dono Majestatis Regiæ dato. Respondi intellexisse me a domino Privati sigilli custode eam esse signatam. Tum ille inquit, Mane domi, ipse namque ad te illam mox mittendam curabo, si non potueris commodo tuo ante habere. At ego ne immodestus viderer, hodie bene mane me ad Regiam contuli, quia etsi heri te convenire studui uspiam, tamen non potui, sed accidit, ut tu paulo ante de cubiculo tuo exiveris. Quare nunc mitto ad te famulum meum Polydorum Rosse, cum his literis meis, cui rogo, velis eam ipsam schedulam ad me dare, quo possim tempore suo rem meam peragere. Siquid vero tibi tuisve ministris inde debeatur illud libenter persolvam. Vale, et me ama. Ex ædibus nostris x. Novemb. 1551.

Tuus POLYDORUS VERGILIUS, manu mea."

Addressed,

"Domino Cecilio, Secretario Regio."

These presents, in all probability, were to provide for the expenses of his journey; and in those days must have been more than sufficient. He retired to Urbino; and there, to the close of life, continued to devote himself to learned pursuits.

* Harl. MS. 6195, p. 16.

He is stated to have collated the first impression of Nicolo Perotti's "Cornucopiæ" with a copy in the Duke of Urbino's library, and to have corrected its errata.

Honiger obtained his Notes on Horace, and included them with those of other commentators in his edition of that author, printed in folio, at Basle, in 1580.

A manuscript List of English Bishops, by him, is also referred to,* but whether it still exists, or at what period it was compiled, is unknown to the editor of the present volume: though he suspects it is not impossible that it may be only the original of the List of Bishops of the several Sees from early time, printed at the end of the Index to the later editions of Polydore Vergil's History.

His last composition that we are acquainted with, is a Latin letter of congratulation to Queen Mary the First, upon her accession to the English Throne, dated August 5th, 1553: without the mention of place, but, doubtless, from Urbino.† The original is preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum.‡

Peter a Sancto Romualdo, in the Continuation of Ademar's Chronicle, p. 326, asserts that Polydore Vergil died

* "MS. among the English Ecclesiasticks, commended by Stapleton," Princ. Doctr. lib. xiii. c. 7. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. xiv.

† See it in the Append. Num. VI.

‡ MS. Harl. 6989, fol. 149. The same Volume contains an earlier letter of Vergil "Edovardo Lælio, Regis Angliæ apud Cæsarem Oratori." Lond. 19 Oct. 1526.

in 1562; but his biographers generally place his death in 1555; and they are confirmed in the correctness of this latter date by the Registers of the Sees of Bath and Wells, of Hereford, and of London, in all of which it appears that those who stepped into the archdeacon's preferments succeeded in that year "*per mortem* Polydori Vergilii."

Few writers of the English Story have met with such harsh treatment as Polydore Vergil. Sir Thomas Pope Blount in his "Censura Auctorum," and Bayle in the Notes to his "Historical and Critical Dictionary," have taken pains to enumerate the charges brought against him for deficiency in judgment, for partiality, and for gross falsehood.

The truth is that Polydore Vergil's attainments went far beyond the common learning of his age. The earlier part of his History interfered with the prejudices of the English. He discarded Brute as an unreal personage;* and considered Geoffrey of Monmouth's History an heterogeneous mixture of fact and fable, furnishing comparatively little which could be safely relied upon as history.†

* "Cæterum Livius, Dionysius Halicarnaseus, ac plerique alii qui diligenter de antiquitatibus Romanorum scripserunt, nunquam hujus Bruti meminere. Neque illud ex Britannorum annalibus prodi potuerat." Polyd. Verg. ut supr. lib. i. p. 17.

† "At contra quidam nostris temporibus, pro expiandis istis Britonum

Hence Leland's defence of Geoffrey, printed in the "Collectanea," where it fills no fewer than nine octavo pages, "Codrus, sive Laus et Defensio Gallofridi Arturii Monumetensis contra Polydorum Vergilium:" followed by his "Assertio inclytissimi Arturii, Regis Britanniæ," first printed in 1544.*

Sir Henry Savile, in the dedication of the "Scriptores post Bedam" to Queen Elizabeth, was the next who assailed Vergil. He was little to be attended to, because a foreigner; "homo Italus, et in rebus nostris hospes."†

maculis, scriptor emersit, ridicula de eisdem figmenta contexens, eosque longè supra virtutem Macedonum, et Romanorum, impudenti vanitate attollens: Gaufredus hic est dictus, cognomine Arthurus, pro eo, quòd multa de Arthuro ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumpta, et ab se aucta, per superductum latini sermonis colorem, honesto historiæ nomine obtexit. Quinetiam majore ausu, cujusdam Merlini divinationes falsissimas, quibus utique de suo plurimum addidit, dum eas in latinum transferret, tanquam approbatas et immobili veritate subnixas prophetias vulgavit." Ibid.

* Lelandi Collectanea, edit. 1774, vol. v. p. 2.

† "Nam Polydorus, ut homo Italus, et in rebus nostris hospes, et (quod caput est) neque in republica versatus, nec magni alioqui vel judicii vel ingenii, pauca ex multis delibans, et falsa plerumque pro veris amplexus, historiam nobis reliquit cum cætera mendosam tum exiliter sane et jejune conscriptum." Rerum Anglic. Script. post Bedan. fol. Lond. 1596.

Nicolson gives a comment on this passage, which shews that he had not looked into Polydore's History to form an opinion for himself. "Some," he says, "have fancied that the severer character which Sir Henry is here pleased to give of this author, might chiefly be applied to the History of Henry VIII. and that a great many passages in that reign may be darkly or falsely represented by him, by reason of his being unacquainted with the

Paulus Jovius charged him with administering flattery to the English; he says the French and Scotch writers had made the same complaint; and adds that he had introduced into his History the names of inconsiderable captains.*

Humphrey Lhuyd, without adducing the slightest evidence, stigmatised him as a malicious detractor.†

English tongue; which could not but very much obstruct his knowledge in modern transactions. Other things, say they, have fallen from him under a borrowed light and colour, out of the respect he had for Queen Mary, and his great inclinations to serve the interests of that princess." The slightest investigation of Polydore's History of Henry the Eighth's reign, however, will evince the futility of these remarks.

* "Conscripsit Historias rerum Britannicarum, ea fide ut Scotis et Gallis sæpe reclamantibus, alieno potius arbitrio quam suo intexuisse multa in gratiam gentis existimetur, quod in recensendis minorum Ducum nominibus, tanquam gloriæ avidis plurimum indulserit." Pauli Jov. Elog. cap. cxxxv. p. 279.

† "Cum ante paucos annos in Polydori Virgilii Itali, et Hectoris Boethii Scoti historias Britannicas incidissem quorum ille nominis Britannici gloriam non solum obfuscare, sed etiam Britannos ipsos mendacissimis suis calumniis infamare totis viribus conatur: hic vero dum Scotos suos è tenebris eruit, quidquid unquam aut Romani aut Britanni laude dignum in hac insula gessare, hoc totum illis attribuit insulsissimus scriptor." Lhuyd Descr. Angliæ, fol. 6. Other passages, equally calumnious as relating to Polydore, are quoted from Lhuyd by bishop Nicolson, Hist. Lib. edit. 1776, p. 57. Such as "Homo ignotus et exterus."—"Vir perfrictæ frontis"—"Invidia et odio tumens"—"Infamis homunculus"—"Os impudens"—"Delirans Urbinas."—Nor ought anything of this, he adds, to be attributed to an over-boiling of honest Humphrey's Welsh blood, *if the other matters*

Owen reviled him in an epigram,

"Virgilii duo sunt: alter Maro: Tu Polydore
Alter, Tu mendax, ille Poeta fuit."

Caius, in his Treatise "de Antiquitate Cantabrigiæ," makes a heavier charge. He mentions it not only as a thing reported, but found to be certainly true, that Polydore Vergil committed *as many of our ancient and manuscript historians to the flames* AS WOULD HAVE FILLED A WAGGON, that the faults of his own work might pass undiscovered.*

La Popliniere, in his "Histoire des Histoires," improves even upon this; he says, Polydore caused all the histories to be burnt, which *by the King's authority* and the assistance of his friends he could possibly come at.†

Against these charges Polydore Vergil was ably defended, more than two hundred years ago, by Burton, already mentioned, in a manuscript written in 1636, which

he is accused of be true. Nicolson evidently, himself, doubted the truth of the charges.

* "Fama percrebuit, atque etiam cognitum et compertum certo est, tot historias nostras, vetustas et manuscriptas immani scelere igni commendasse, quot ne plaustrum quidem posset capere et sustinere, arbitratus, ut credo, se ejus generis omnes solum habuisse: aut veritus sibi vitio dari, quòd secutus legem jampridem librorum veterum castigatoribus datam (ut ipse de se ait in præfatione in Gildam) nonnulla resecuerit, quæ scriptores prodiderunt." De Antiq. Cantabr. 4to. Lond. 1574, p. 52.

† La Popliniere, Hist. des Histoires, liv. ix. p. 485.

has been since printed by the late Mr. Nichols in his History of Leicestershire. His words are these:

"Upon the first coming of Polydore, King Henry VII. imposed on him the penning of the English history from the first beginning to that present time; wherein, as himself saith, he spent twelve years' labour together, but yet finished it not. After some discontinuance, he set upon it again, and performed it in 1533 in the 25th year of King Henry VIII. to whom he then made dedication of the same; a work of great labour and like reading, but much carped at by John Druse* (who wrote a book against him), Jo. Leland, Richard White, Jo. Lewis, Humphrey Lluid, and others; not, as I conceive, for any just cause, but for that he, being an alien, should be graced with such a matter of charge, which most properly had belonged to a native of the land. The chief matters they charge him with are, first for that having taken the substance of the beginning of his History all out of the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, yet unthankfully (imitating therein William of Newborough) lashing at him; next, for that in many places he pitcheth somewhat smartly upon the antiquity of Britain; thirdly, for that he doth seem severely to censure some of those Kings which he treateth of; lastly, that, having gotten many old manuscripts together, by whose help he compiled his book, after his conclusion of the same, he set fire on them all.

"For the first and second, it is well observed by many of great reading and judgment, that Geoffrey of Monmouth hath somewhat hyperbolically extolled the praise and antiquity of the Britons, and interlaced many passages of his own device, and drawn down a series of descents, but with what truth the just and true chronology of time, upon good examination, will soon discover; so that Polydore doth not upon the matter impeach the antiquity of Britain, but the fabulous inventions of the said Geoffrey. To the third,

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* This is a mistake for Price. The title of the work is "Historiæ Brytannicæ Defensio, Joanne Priseo Equestris Ordinis Brytanno Authore." 4to. Lond. 1573.

those Princes which opposed the Pope's proceedings are indeed by him censured, those that gave way are applauded ; but that is to be attributed to the time, and to the circumstance, as whose agent he was, yet whoever shall peruse what he hath written shall find that many things he did not approve, though instituted by the Pope's authority, but held them impertinent and novel, as the inhibiting of marriage to spiritual men, the ordination of festival days, examinations, kneeling to pictures, creation of Cardinals and religious orders, and such-like.* Lastly, for his destroying of manuscripts, I could never yet be drawn to believe it, neither is it probable, for that, unless he had had all the copies of each kind together, that by one act they might all have finally perished, he would never have attempted such an enterprize ; and certain it is, by Leland's Collectanea, that almost in every Abbey (himself setting down a catalogue of all manuscripts which he saw in each place) there was variety and store of copies, not only of the chiefest writers, but almost of the meanest chronologers and historians. But, whatsoever they have said, this I may truly say, and can make good, He was a man of singular invention, good judgement, and good reading, and a true lover of antiquities."†

Gale in the preface to his "Scriptores," and Bishop Nicolson in his English Historical Library, have joined in later times to give currency to another charge, that of shipping manuscripts for Rome. Gale says the vessel loaded with them went from Rochester Bridge.‡ He is

* Bale, De Script. Britann. Centur. xiii. says the same: "licet in plerisque scriptis suis veræ Religioni superstitionem prætulerit, piè nihilominus Christianorum ministrorum conjugia defendebat, pièque statuarum cultum damnabat, cum quibusdam aliis Romanensium Rabbinorum imposturis."

† Nichols's Hist. of Leicestersh. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 538.

‡ Gale, Script. xv. fol. Oxon. 1691. Præf. ad lect. "Certe si famæ receptæ et inveteratæ credere liceat, unus Polydorus Virgilius quæstor tunc

"said to have borrowed books out of the public library at Oxford, without taking any care to restore them: upon which the University, as they had good reason, declined lending any more, till forced to it by a mandate, which he made a shift to procure from the King. In other places he likewise pillaged the libraries at his pleasure, and at last sent over a whole ship-load of manuscripts to Rome."*

But neither the proof nor the probability of this have been established: and it is not a little singular that so many of our good antiquaries and historians should, like sheep, have leaped after each other in gross error.

Taylor, too, in his History of Gavelkind, 4^to^ Lond. 1663, pp. 83, 84, says, Polydore "*laboured to disparage the* BRITISH ANTIQUITIES, and not only so, but under the patronage of King Henry, having power to search all Records, *is reported to have seised the most antient thereof (that were in being) in the Treasury of* LANDAF, *and to have destroyed them;* something of which nature I have also seen; for in a Register book, compiled by St. Thomas de Cantilupe (bishop of Hereford) I found three leaves cut out; *which, by a constant and confident tradition of the Registers of the Diocess of Hereford,* in whose custody that Book was, *it is averr'd that this was done by Polydore.*"

apud nos Pontificius, navem istis spoliis onustam a ponte Rhoffensi Romam misit."

* Nicolson, Engl. Hist. Lib. edit. 1776, p. 58.

This again is Welsh; even Herefordshire, up to the time of Henry the Eighth, was frequently if not usually considered as a Welsh county.

Had there been any truth, or evidence in support of the Oxford story, Antony à Wood would have been sure to have ferretted out the facts: all *he* says in his History of Duke Humphrey's Library is, "That several scholars would, upon small pledges given in, borrow books thence: which pledges, being not half worth the books that were borrowed, were never restored. Polydore Vergil, as tradition tells us, borrowed many after such a way; but at length being denied, did, upon petition made to the King, obtain his licence for the taking out of any manuscript for his use (in order, I suppose, for the collecting materials for his English History or Chronicle of England), which, being imitated by others, the library thereby suffered very great loss."*

Even Burnet has a fling at Polydore, but it is for his character of Wolsey only. He says, "Neither Erasmus nor Polydore Vergil made their court dexterously with the Cardinal, which did much intercept the King's favour to them; so that the one left England, and the other was but coarsely used in it, who has sufficiently revenged him-

* Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, edit. by Gutch, 4° Oxf. 1796, vol. ii. p. ii. pp. 918, 919.

self upon the Cardinal's memory."* Yet who is there that has studied the history and correspondence of Wolsey's time but sees the corroboration, in every part, of the portrait which Polydore Vergil has drawn?

Wharton, in the Anglia Sacra, has given a character of Polydore very different from Savile, Gale, and Nicolson. He calls him "Vir undequaque doctissimus, et Anglicanæ Historiæ peritissimus."

THE compilation of Polydore Vergil's History occupied the labour of twenty-eight years before it was presented to King Henry the Eighth. It was the first of our histories in which the writer ventured to compare the facts and weigh the statements of his predecessors; and it was the first in which summaries of personal character are introduced in the terse and energetic form adopted in the Roman classics. In choice of expression, and in the purity of Latin style, Polydore Vergil exceeded all his contemporaries:† and the numerous editions of his work

* Hist. Reform. Oxford edit. vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

† His Address to the Reader at the end of his History apologizes for the necessity of using a few terms unknown to classical latinity.

"POLYDORUS VERGILIUS LECTORI S.

"MONITUM te, optime Lector, volo permulta verba minus Latina, longo usu, non item ratione, jampridem in consuetudinem quotidiani sermonis venisse, sic, ut velimus nolimus, ea interdum usurpare cogamur: cujusmodi

in the sixteenth century sufficiently shew the estimation

sunt Dux et Comes, olim officii tantûm, at summæ nunc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus, pro regione ; cancellarius, pro scribarum ; abbas, prior, pro monachorum præfecto. Ista paucula (nam cætera facilè declinavimus) cum legendo in ea incideris, non mihi vitio des, sed atque adeò nostris temporibus, quæ ita quondam barbara facta sunt, ut nondum ejusmodi nævis purgari ad unguem potuerint. Vale."

If the reader can endure another specimen of Polydore's Latin, let him peruse the following short notice of the last moments of Queen Catherine of Arragon, and his translation of her letter to the King :

" At Catherina sexto post die graviori morbo affecta, cum animo præsentiret mortem adventare, ancillam non indoctam jussit binas scribere literas eodem exemplo, unas ad regem, alteras ad Eustachium, quas ipsa dictavit, in hæc verba :

' Domine mi rex marite semper charissime, Salve. Jam advenit hora mortis meæ, in quo temporis puncto, amor facit ut te paucis admoneam de salute animæ tuæ, quam debes cunctis mortalibus rebus anteponere, neglecta præ ea omni corporis cura, propter quam et me in multas miserias, et te ipsum in solicitudines plures conjecisti : sed hoc tibi ignosco, ac Deus tibi ignoscat, tam velim, quam precibus piis oro. Quod superest, commendo tibi filiam communem nostram, in quam quæso, officium illud paterne totum conferas, quod ego a te alias desideravi. Præterea precor summè, uti ancillas meas respicias, easque suo tempore bene locare nuptiis placeat, quod multum non est, cùm non sint nisi tres, et dare meis ministris stipendium debitum, atque in unum etiam annum ex tua gratia, benignitate, liberalitate futurum, ne deserti vel inopes esse videantur. Postremo unum illud testor. Oculi mei te solum desiderant. Vale.' "

It is true that we know of no English composition now remaining in Polydore's hand-writing ; but, after the reading of this beautiful translation, who will be so bold to assert, or who will believe the assertion, that Polydore Vergil was ignorant of the English tongue ? The length of his residence in this country alone repudiates the supposition : and his History shews it was impossible that he could be ignorant of it.

in which his contemporaries held him.* Locked away in a language unknown to the common reader, his History has suffered disparagement in later times. Even Lingard, the best of our modern English Historians, scarcely quotes him.

Thus far, as regards the Latin History. In the Catalogue of the Library of Henry the Eighth, in the 34th year of his reign, transcribed from a book in the Augmentation Office by the late Mr. Thomas Astle, and by him presented to the British Museum,† "CRONICA POLYDORI" occurs. It was, no doubt, the presentation copy to that monarch: but this Manuscript is not forthcoming now. It had ceased to be found in the Royal Library when Casley formed his catalogue.

The Manuscript Translation from which the Three Reigns here prepared for the Camden Society have been selected, has the signature of LUMLEY on the first page, and could not, therefore, have formed any part of the Royal Library previous to the time of James the First, when Lord Lumley's Books and Manuscripts, which had been purchased for Henry Prince of Wales, merged into the Royal Collection.‡

* Even Lhuyd acknowledges the popularity of Polydore's History, "Sed cum in memoriam revocarem, Polydorum Virgilium, *cujus opera in omnium manibus sunt.*"—p. 69.

† Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 4729.

‡ Dr. Birch, in his Life of Henry Prince of Wales, pp. 161—163, says,

The volume itself, MS. Reg. C. VIII. IX. (once in two books), at present forms a folio of some size, in a hand of the latter part of the reign of Henry the Eighth. To the end of the reign of Henry the Sixth the writing is uniform and beautiful; the work of a scribe. The two last reigns are in a coarser hand, with numerous interlineations, marginal additions, and changes of expression, like an author's copy, prepared for fair transcription. The Translator, it may be conjectured, might not have lived to the entire completion of his task, as the Volume comes down no lower than the death of Richard the Third, leaving the reigns

"The death of John Lord Lumley on the 11th of April 1609, without leaving any issue, gave the King an opportunity of gratifying the Prince's love of books, and making a noble addition to the Royal Library.

"King James I. enriched the Bodleian Library at Oxford at the expense of his own, giving a warrant to Sir Thomas Bodley, under the Privy Seal, for the choice of any books, which that gentleman should like in any of his houses or libraries. But His Majesty very amply supplied the place of them by the purchase of Lord Lumley's library, which contained not only his own collection, but that of his father-in-law, Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, who had lived in the reign of King Henry VIII. when, upon the dissolution of the Monasteries, he had great opportunities of collecting manuscripts, many of which, as well as of the printed books in the Royal Library, have the name of Arundel and Lumley written in them.

"King James, having purchased Lord Lumley's library, ordered it, at the suggestion of Mr. Newton, to be reposited, together with that of his predecessors, in the palace of St. James', where the Prince resided, for the use of his Highness; and Mr. Patrick Young, son of Sir Peter Young, his Majesty's tutor, was appointed keeper of it."

of King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth untouched.

The Translation is free, and of a thorough English character, evidently made by a person powerfully acquainted with the language into which he rendered his author, and well versed in the colloquial phrases of the period. Who he was we have yet to learn; but this must be said, that in elegance of expression he rivals his author. As a specimen of language alone the whole Work is worthy of publication.

Polydore's History during the reigns which form the present volume is indispensable to fill a chasm of near seventy years in the dark period to which they bear relation; and it is important to know that he wrote this portion of his work whilst many of the persons alluded to in the events of the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third were alive, and who communicated with him.*

* See pp. 185, 209.

APPENDIX.

Num. I.

Pope Leo X. to King Henry VIII. in favour of Polydore Vergil whom the king had imprisoned.

[MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. II. fol. 164. *Orig.*]

LEO · PP^{a} · X^{s}.

Charissime in Christo fili noster: salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Commendavimus alijs nostris literis Majestati tuæ dilectum filium Polidorum Verginium, hujus sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedis in regno isto subcollectorem; qui quidem in carcerem tuo jussu conjectus est, plurésque jam in eo menses detinetur: hortatique sumus te, pro tua in eandem sedem atque nos reverentia, proque nostrâ in te paternâ dilectione et charitate, velles eum liberum facere. Cujus quidem rei, cum nihil dum actum abs Te intelligamus, has ad tuam Majestatem literas dandas duximus; quibus etiam atque etiam id ipsum abs te attentè atque enixè requirimus, tùm etiam ut Collectori domum quæque ablata ex ea sunt mandes restitui, neque patiaris ut ad te frustra totiens de eadem re scripsisse videamur. In eo prætereà Majestas tua nobis gratissimum faciet, si dilectum filium nostrum Hadrianum Cardinalem Batoniensem, tuæ Majestati deditissimum, resque ejus omnes fovebis, tibique ipsas nostro nomine commendatas facies.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die tricesimo Augusti, M.D. xv., Pontificatûs nostri anno tertio.

P. Bembus.

Carissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico
Angliæ Regi Illustri.

Num. II.

The Cardinal Julio de Medicis to King Henry VIII. in favour of Polydore Vergil.

[MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. II. fol. 165. *Orig.*]

Serenissime ac invictissime Rex et Domine Domine mihi colendissime, humillimas commendationes. Nisi scirem quâ promptitudine reverendissimus Dominus meus Cardinalis Hadrianus in causa Collectoriæ se gesserit, ut Majestatis vestræ voluntati satisfaceret, quáve fide et servitute in eam semper fuerit, minus audacter fortasse scribere quàm nunc facio pro Polydoro ejus servitore, quem non sine molestia in carcerem conjectum intellexi. Nam quum reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis omnia fecerit quæ ex eo petebantur, et Dominus Andreas possessionem Collectoriæ acceperit, et omnia acta transacta jam sint, proindè Majestatem vestram plurimùm rogo nè permittat talem Cardinalem et Servitorem suum tantam pati indignitatem, ejusdemque Servitorem sic diutiùs detineri, quem quantum magis ex animo possum commendo vestræ regiæ Majestati, et supplico ut dignetur mandare quòd liberetur. In quo faciet Sanctissimo Domino nostro rem valde gratam: mihi gratiam singularem: et ipsum Dominum reverendissimum non mediocriter consolabatur. Et felicissimè valeat vestra regia Majestas, cui me humillime commendo.

Bononiæ, iij. Septembris M.D. xv.

Excellentissimæ vestræ regiæ Majestatis,
humillimus ac fidelissimus servitor
Ju. Cardinalis de Medicis.

Serenissimo ac invictissimo principi et
Domino, Domino mihi colendissimo,
Domino Henrico Angliæ, &c. Regi.

Num. III.

Polydore Vergil to Erasmus, 3 *June*, 1523.

[Erasmi Epist. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1706. Append. Epist. cccxxvi.]

Reverendo Domino Erasmo, amico charissimo, Polydorus Virgilius, S. D. P.

Mi Erasme, salve. Nudiustertius noster Zacharias salutem mihi tuis verbis nuntiavit, significavitque te meorum libellorum famæ profuisse, ac de me postremo quæsivit, an illud scissem. Ego ad ea respondi, me certum habere studium erga me tuum, et id esse, ut perinde tu mei, ut ipse tui et amantissimus et studiosissimus sum. Postea heri ille duxit ad me puerum tuum, à quo particulatim intellexi, quonam pacto tecum ageretur, id quod summæ mihi fuit voluptati: nam quod vivis, quod vales, illud maxime ex republica nostra litteraria est, cum perspicuum sit, naturam te omnium unum ad eam locupletandam peperisse. Quòd tua in me officia continenter confers, ago gratias, ita respondes amori, ita jus necessitudinis, quæ jampridem mihi tecum intercessit, naviter servas. Ego itidem facio, qui tuæ maximæ laudis haudquaquam detrectator exsisto, id quod testatur Epistola nostra ad nostrum Cuthbertum Londinensem Episcopum, cui nuper duas sacrorum adagiorum centurias dedicavi. Scripsi item, postquam hinc proxime discessisti, ad te litteras, easque nostro Moro dedi, sed quia nihil responsum est, postea mihi eatenus tacendum putavi, quoad usu veniret, ut uspiam una essemus, quod tandem aliquando fiet. Interim si tibi usui esse possum, utere Polydoro tuo, qui te etiam pecunia juvare cupit, cujus rei cum post hac periculum feceris, spes non fallet, uti de puero tuo scire poteris. Vale. Londino, 3 Junij, anno 1523.

Saluta, quæso, meis verbis Joh. Oecolampadium, si istic agat, et nostrum Beatum Rhenanum.

Num. IV.

Erasmus to Polydore Vergil, 24 March 1527.

[Ibid. Epist. dcccliv.]

Erasmus Roterod. Polydoro Vergilio S. D.

Quo non penetrant linguæ fascinatrices? Quas nos, mi Polydore, non alia ratione melius ulcisci possumus, quam ut amicitiam, quam isti rescissam vellent, vinculis quam arctissimis adstringamus. Videbis Homilias tibi dicatas, nunc rursus excusas cum dignitate, quo magis etiam urantur, quos cruciat nostra concordia. Quod sedulo agis εἰρηνοποιόν inter Leum et me, pro isthæc animo Christus tibi referet promissam beatitudinem. At præscribit ille parum æquas pacis conditiones. Ostendat ille quæ perperam scripserim in ipsum, ego vicissim ostendam quæ ille perperam scripsit in me. Tum post mutuam palinodiam coeat amicitia. Verum, hoc esset non sarare gratiam, sed renovare simultatem. Optimum fuerit μὴ μνησικακῆσαι, sed illa Græcorum ἀμνηστίᾳ prorsus omnium veterum injuriarum abolere memoriam, ac scripto quopiam amico testari positam esse simultatem, et animos Christiana junctos concordia, quod factum est inter Jacobum Fabrum ac me. Quod mihi cum tot portentis dimicandum est, agnosco feroque fatum meum. Cum summis mihi pulchre convenit. Clemens Septimus bis jam misit ducentos florenos, nihil non pollicens. Cæsar nuper ad me scripsit amantissime cum suo cancellario. Regum, Cardinalium, Ducum, Episcoporum literis honorificentissime scriptis habeo plena scrinia. A multis veniunt et munera nequaquam vulgaria. A tenebrionibus velut à cimicibus ac pediculis mordeor: nam his nec Cæsar nec Pontifex potest imponere silentium. Tuti sunt suis tenebris. Sed nihil aliud efficiunt nisi quod traducunt seipsos. Nos rectum clavum tenebimus usque ad extremum vitæ terminum: de eventu viderit Christus, hujus fabulæ choragus. De libello excudendo egi cum Frobenio, respondet se paratissimum, ea lege qua excudit Adagia. Bene vale, patrone magne. Basilea, 24 Martij, anno 1527.

Num. V.

The Warrant for Polydore Vergil to depart the Realm, A.D. 1550.

[Pat. 4 Edw. VI. p. 5, m. 14. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 234.]

Edwarde the Sixte, &c. to all and singuler to whom, &c. greting. Whereas our trustie and welbelovid Polidorus Virgilius hathe made humble sute unto us that, he being bourne in the partes of Italie, and having servid our grandfather King Henry the Seventh, our father King Henry th' Eight, of most noble memorie, and us, by the space of forti yeares and above, in writing and putting fourth in print divers notable Workes and Stories, may be licencid to departe oute of this our realme to visit and see, nowe in his old age, his said natyve countrey, and there to make his abode during his pleasuer, and also quietly, without interruption, to have, hold, and enjoy the profits, rents, and commodities of th' archdeaconrie of Welles in the Cathedral Churche of Welles, and the Prebend of Nonnyngton, in the Cathedrall Churche of Hereford, which the said Polidorus now enjoyith and holdith within this our Realme.

We let you wit that, by the advyse of the lords and others of our Privy Counsail, in consideration of the long, painful, and acceptable service heretofore done by the said Polidorus, of our grace especial and mere motion, we have lycensed, and by these our letters patents doo license the said Polidorus Virgilius, not only to pass out of this our realme, and to inhabite and dwell from hensforth in the said partes of beyond the seas, during his lief, at his pleasuer, but also that, by vertue and auctoritie of theis our said letters patents, the said Polidorus Virgilius, at all tymes from hensforth during his said lief, may be absent and nonresident from his said archdeaconrie of Wells and the said prebend of Nonington, without incurring any daunger, penaltie, or forfaiture for the same, and shall and may, by hymself, or by his sufficient proctour or assign, receyve, take, levye, and enjoye, all and singuler the rents, profitts, commodities, and revenues perteyning or belongyng to the said archedeaconrie and prebend, and to either of them, during his said naturall lief, and the same to convert to his oun use, profitt, and commoditie, any use, custom, ordinance, or prescription of

the said church or churches whereunto his said archedeaconrie and prebend doo apperteyn, had or made to the contrarie, or any act, statute, ordinance, provision, or proclamation heretofore had or made, or hereafter to be made, within this our realme to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Wherfore we woll and commaund all and singuler our officers, ministers, and subjects, to whom in this case it shall apperteyn, to permyt and suffer the said Polydorus Virgilius peasably and quietly to enjoy the hole effect, tenour, and purport of theis our Letters Patents, upon th'only sight of the same, without any manner of lett, impedyment, or molestation to the contrarie hereof, as they and every of them tender our pleasuer and good contentation in that behalf.

Provided always that the tenths, first fruyts, dismes, subsidies, and other devoyers due or to be due unto us or our successours, kings of England, and all other duyeties lawfully accustomed to be paid and born to any other person out of the said archedeaconrie and prebend, be from tyme to tyme duly born and supportyd of the revenues and proffits of the same as apperteyneth ; and further that the said Polidorus doo, or cause to be done, all and every such thing and things as by the laws and orders of the realms, already establyshed or hereafter to be establyshed, he shall be bound to doo or cause to be done by reason of the said archedeaconrie and prebende. Although expresse mention, &c. In witnes wherof, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium secundo die Junii.

PER BREVE DE PRIVATO SIGILLO.

NUM. VI.

Polydore Vergil's Letter to Queen Mary I. upon her Accession to the English Throne.

[Harl. MS. 6989, fol. 149. *Orig.*]

Salve Regina, Virgo, Maria brevi futura renascentis Regni genetrix. Namque scire licet Angliæ regnum ab initio septem habuisse reges, et eos

tam diu inter se conflixisse, donec ad extremum potestas ad unum pervenerit. Postea secuti sunt reges, qui illud ipsum potentia, autoritate, nomine, opibus, legibus auxerunt, item religione, literis nobilitarunt, templisque passim atque alijs ædificijs ornarunt, sic ut ei non alterum fermè par foret, cum vicissitudo rerum cum mutatione temporum, pervaserit in animos quorundam multo infirmiores, qui à religione in primis aberrantes, remoto Dei metu, non dubitaverint facere contra rempublicam conjurationem post homines natos longe exitiosissimam. Sed ecce Deus Optimus Maximus vocavit te ad imperium, salutemque populi in tua tutela ac præsidio esse voluit. Quare, electissima prudentissimáque Regina, tibi persuadere debes, hanc esse divinam dexteræ excelsi mutationem, et tibi occasionem datam, quomodo posses regnum tuum undique quassatum, bonis vel moribus ac institutis spoliatum in pristinum reducere statum, quamprimum errata, delicta, peccata hactenus per licentiam commissa piè, modicè, severéque emendando, corrigendo. Ex quo profectò deinde in omni memoria seculorum, meritò diceris tanti Regni nova et sola genitrix fuisse. Quippe illud ipsum parvo sanè negotio efficies, si à principio delegeris consiliarios, viros graves, modestos, prudentes, qui studio reipublicæ commoda quærant. Porro si princeps optimus sit, et malos habeat consiliarios, nihil omnino, uti divinus Plato ait, bene sperandum est de republica, quia unus bonus facile à multis potest depravari. Contrà si malus sit qui regnat, et probos habeat circa se principes viros, nihil procul dubio est desperandum, quoniam unus itidem ad bonitatem et virtutem deduci potest à plurimis. Hinc igitur, Regina sanctissima, satis constat oportere regem habere domi suæ senatum et consilium ex optimis quibusque viris constitutum : id quod si Majestati tuæ similiter facere libuerit, certe quidem tu ut justitiæ cultrix et in summa atque sempiterna gratia apud Deum temet, et in magna gloria apud cunctos mortales laudabiliter pones. Vale. Ego vero homo senecta jam ætate volui te Dominam sicut servus literis salutare, officij causa, quod deinceps coram sæpius præstabo. Die 5 Augusti 1553.

Ejusdem M^tis^ T.

Servulus Poly. Vergilius.

THREE BOOKS

OF

POLYDORE VERGIL'S HISTORY.

HENRY THE SIXTH.

THE XXIIJ^{TIE} BOOKE OF POLIDORE VIRGILL OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLANDE.

ALTHOUGH the Englishe affaires did seeme somewhat weakned by the death of king Henrye, the noblemen neverthelesse determined to renew the warres with valiaunt courage, and to make preparation, as well at home as abroade, of all thinges that might be necessary for forthwith as oportunitie did serve. Humfrey duke of Glocester returned againe into England, and, assembling the nobilitie, made relation what his brother king Henry had geven in charge upon his death-bed, and in what estate the Frenche affaires did stande. After that the nobles had conceaved all thinges, it was agreed, that the government of the realme should be committed to the duke of Glocester hymself, according to the kinges commaundement, who tooke upon him that charge; and to thintent he should not at any time afterward repent eyther of deede or direction, as a man mindfull of others and forgetfull of himselfe, he beganne to governe with high commendation, and to provide for, place, and prepare all thinges apperteyning to the honor of the realme, and profite of the common wealth. At the very first he had speciall care to this, that Henry his nephewe

The duke of Glostere made Protector.

might be trayned up vertuously, and did procure him to be committed unto Katherine his mother, whom he had brought into England with him a litle before, and did use reverently with all frendshipp and curtesie. And so having established civill and private causes, he beganne afterward to prepare with like diligence whatsoever was needefull for the use of warres. And making forthwith a levie of souldiers, whomsoever he thought meete for the warres eyther in Englande or in Fraunce. Then he commanded to be in readynes with all furniture, and appoynted over them centurions, and other captaines, skilfull of martiall discipline, that, when occasion should require, they might be readie. After these thinges, he levied, by authoritie of parliament, a great masse of money to support the necessary charges of the warres, so that there should not be want of any thing to the hinderaunce thereof.

A parliament somoned.

The duke of Bedford regent of Fraunce.

While that the duke of Glocester disposed matters thus in Englande, on thother side of the sea John duke of Bedford, whom as chiefe directour of all actions they called Regent of Fraunce, with Phillipp duke of Burgoigne, provided with like care for all thinges that were necessary, but principally he labored to bring under subjection Charles the Dolphin, even as king Henry had purposed in minde. When as loe, Charles the king departed this life, by reason of whose death there chaunced great chaunge of thinges in Fraunce, which was so commodious for the Dolphin's affaires, as that it seemed God himselfe had speciall care for the conservation thereof; for right manye of the nobles of Fraunce, who before that time, partly fearing the English puyssance, and partly afrayde least the breache of their allegeaunce might turne to their owne displeasure, had holden with king Charles, after that they knewe the king was deade, did no more regard at all by what maner or meane (so that by one or other) they might expell the Englishe nation, recover ther countrey, and unite themselves againe to their owne people. And so at one instant they went to

Charles the Frenche king diethe.

the Dolphin, submitting themselves and all that they had to his protection, which when the duke of Bedford, being regent, and the duke of Burgoigne did perceave, they both disposed garrisons to fitt and covenable places, and gathered their armie togethers all at once; and calling their noblemen unto them, the regent made an oration, admonishing them not to falsifie their fayth, and that they should neyther be authours, ne yet suffer young king Henry to be defrauded of his graundfathers kingdome, by enuye of moste false and forsworne men; nor the enemitie betwixt England and Fraunce, nowe for a good while since extinguished, to be againe renewed; and howe that they should call to remembraunce that the kingdome of Englande and Fraunce was by eternall league and consent of minde become, of twoo, one of the goodlyest kingdomes that ever was, and of late so established as that no humane force was able to withstande it. And though they had receaved some detriment by warres, yet they might within short time turne the same to their benefite, if they wold honor, obey, and love Henry their king, and determine resolutely to persecute his enemies, and so should be the best to serve their liege lorde valiauntly and faythfully with all diligence. After this oration ended, Henry was proclaymed King of Englande and Fraunce by common consent of them all, and the lordes there present were commaunded to sweare homage unto him, and the residue throughout the whole realme were bounde to take the same othe. When these thinges were thus done, they sent for their forces from all partes, and furnished themselves with all thinges to the renewing of warre. Likewise in Englande he was proclaymed king by the name of Henry the Sixt, and all thinges were done in his name, that so the honorable stile of a kingly maiestie might be bruted amongst the people. As for the Dolphin, he was at that time in Poyctiers, who upon intelligence of his father's death was in minde partly sory and partly glad: sory for the

The regentes oratione to the nobilitye of Fraunce.

H.6 crowned Kinge of England & Fraunce, and homage done to him.

death of his father, but gladd that the government was so commed unto him, whereby being advaunced to the title of a king he conceaved good hope of habilitie easily to defende the same: and therfore calling togethers the noble men and chiefe of his faction, he nameth himselfe king Charles the Seventh, and commaundeth by edict that he should be generally so called; and so lifte up with an assured confidence, once at the last to expell his enemies out of the countrey, he maketh preparation for warre with greater courage than before. There was forthwith even at the beginning litle skirmishes made upon both parties, as occasion did serve, thone to invade the other upon the sodaine. But within a while after, when their armies were on eyther syde assembled, their dealinges was as in puissaunt warres moste hott and perillous; for Charles saylyng (as the common saying is) with a prosperous winde, intermitting no delaye, wherby himself might casually be weakened and his enemie made stronger, gathered a great armie within fewe dayes, taking on hande sodainly to beseige Meulane, a towne in Normandie, situate upon Seyne, and wanne it forthwith, killing all the Englishemen that were in garrison there, not one lefte alive; which when the duke of Bedforde understoode, he sent to recover the towne Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury, a man for hawtines of courage and valiancie rather to be compared with the auncient Romanes then with men of that age, and John Lucenberg, who was generall of the horsemen to the duke of Burgoigne, with a choice company of souldiers. They besieged the towne, and, because Charles had lefte slender supply there, they wonne it by assault quickly, and upon the Frenche garrison used suche severitie, as that not one of all escaped. After which happie exployte, the earle of Salesbury departed with part of his armie into Champaigne, whereof he was lieftenant, and within a fewe dayes after besieged Sens, a towne of Brye (which is all that part lying betweene the rivers of Seyne and Marne), and winneth

Charles the 7th of France estabiesshed.

Meulane, a towne in Normandy, wone by the Frenche.

Meulane recovered by the duke of Bedford.

Sedanam.

it by assault, killing all that were lefte for the tuition therof, and amonges them Gwilliam Marine, their chiefe captaine. The Parisians in the meane time perceaving king Charles to increase in forces dayly, and conceaving hope thereupon that they should returne within a while under his dominion, which was their greatest desire, to thintent that they should not be suspected unto thinglishe partie of treason the meane while, untill that the matter should fall out according to their heartes desire, sent therfore ambassadours into England unto king Henry to require ayde; unto whom, after great thankes geven for their dutifulnes, aunswer was made that they should continue their obedience and loyaltie to the king; for there should neyther ayde nor succour want unto their citie, so that they would not be negligent in their owne behalfe, nor yeelde unto the enemy.

Sens wone by the E. of Salesbury.

The Parishians sent ambassadors to H. 6. for succore.

Also in the very selfe same yere, which was the yere of our salvation 1423, and the first of king Henries reigne, Humfrey duke of Glocester maryed Jacobine princesse of Bavaire, who had been maried to John duke of Brabant as yet living; which matter made men greatly to mervaile, that the duke of Glocester would needes, contrary to all law and right, mary another mans wife; but the duke of Glocester more esteemed the contract and mariage of so riche a ladie then any admiration or rumour of people. But John duke of Bedford, Phillip duke of Burgoigne, and John duke of Britane mett togethers at Amiens, and renewed the league amongst them, with these further conditions: That every one should mutually ayde another, altogethers, defende king Henry by force of armes, and deliver him from all injurie. That league was confirmed with a new affinitie, for Joane sister to the Duke of Burgoigne was placed in mariage to the duke of Bedforde, who at that time was unmaried, whom he upon dissolution of that treatie tooke with him to Troys, and there did celebrate an honorable mariage, from whence he returned to Paris.

Humfrey duke of Glocester maryed the daughter of the duke of Burgoyne.

The regent and other princes confirmed a firme league.

The duke of Bedford married to the duke of Burgoines sister.

A plot layd to have betrayed Paris to the Frenche.

In the meane time certaine citizens there, who obeyed the Englishe government against their willes, seeing the duke of Bedford so farre absent, determined to receave king Charles into the towne, and, thinking that so profitable occasion was not to be slipped, they gave him intelligence of their practise, and appoynted a day when he should repaire to the gates; but their perillous pollicie prevayled not, but was to the destruction of the devisers thereof; for the duke of Bedforde came the while, sooner then the conspiratours weened; and being informed of the conspiracie, did punishe them that were giltie of that offence. After that, conceaving thereby howe the citizens were affected, the duke tooke order with all diligence and carefulnes, for fortifying of the towne, disposing of watche and warde every where, preventing the subtilties of the Frenche, leaving nothing unprovided for on his owne behalfe, reposing on their behalfe no confidence at all. While this was a doing king Charles besieged Cravaunt, whither came forthwith the earle of Salesburye, and William Pole earle of Suffolke, with four thousand souldiers, and joyning battaile, did kill, discomfite, and chase the Frenchemen, whereof two thousand were slayne, and four hundred taken, amongst whom was the erle of Bowhan, Constable of Fraunce, who was soone raunsomed, and returned againe to the warres. After this fortunate successe, the earle of Salsbury understanding that the Frenche men had in the meane time certaine pyles in the territory of Laonnoys, did hasten thither, and with like good fortune recovereth all the sayde holdes. On thother side, at the very same time, the townes of Compeigne and Crotoy, which is in the countrey about Turwan, did yielde unto the Frenche men; but the comming thither of the Englishe was suche terror unto the garrisons there lefte, as they were quickly recovered also. While this stirre was in Fraunce, the duke of Glocester having mustered for the making out of souldiers in Englande, sent ten thousand well furnished with armour and

Cravantum.

The Frenche men discomfited at Cravante. *Bucanus.*

Laudunensi

Compendio.

Croteio.

weapon to the duke of Bedford unto Paris, who were committed to the government of the earle of Salisbury, and of Robert Willoughbie, a man of noble birth and great forecast, and of William Pole. Himselfe had in his retinewe a thousand eight hundred horsemen and eyght thousand footemen. With these forces the duke of Bedford, removing from Paris, marched into Normandie, to se if he could any where provoke Charles to any indifferent conflict; for, so longe as he was unvanquished, himselfe thought his owne affaires woulde never be in very good case. But when his enemy would no where discover himselfe, the duke besieged the most strong castle of Yvers, being upon the frontiers of Normandie. There was within the same a great bande of choyse souldiers, who defended themselves valiantly; but the duke casting a great trenche and rampire about the same, and assaulting it with mynes and engines, forced them to yeeld within fewe days after that it was first begoonn to be besieged. Charles at that time laye at Towres, who, being certified that Yvery was besieged, seemed not to make great accompt of the matter; but partly trusting to the naturall strength of the place, and partly to the force of the garrison within the same, was busied onely about the levying of an armie, whereby he might be able with equall force to encounter his enemie in open fielde. And therfore, when he had gathered a more large number, he sent the duke of Alanson to relieve the towne, commanding him that, if occasion did serve, he should not refuse the fight. The duke marched forward with all speede, and, perceaving before he did approche the place that the castle was yeelded, therfore chaunging his purpose, he diverted to Vernoill, wanne it by assault, and killed the most part of the Englishe garrison; the which towne, being well fortified, was geven unto him by Charles, for that he had a good while before claymed the same to be parcell of his inheritance. After that the duke of Bedford had intelligence hereof, he marched to Vernoill without delay, in good

10,000 soldiers sent out of England.

Yveres besieged and wone.

Turomibus.

Vernoylle recovered by the Frenche.

arraye of battaile, and in the same order came even to the very tentes of his enemies. The Frenche, somewhat appalled by reason of the sodaine arrivall, tossed the matter amongst themselves what best were to doo. The most part were of minde to tarrye in their tentes till they might see what their enemies would take on hand; for being well experienced that often-times before they had been vanquished, when as they joyned battaile with the Englishe men, they were loth to fight hand to hand; but when they sawe their enemies armie approche nigher and nigher, taking to them hart of grace, with howling and rejoycing, as their maner is, they take wepon in hand, and set themselves in array before their tents. The battaile was begonn with shott, but, when the shott ceased, they marched forward, and drawing their blades mutually, ranne together with great cryes. The fight was forcible and continuall, and so throughly maintained of both parties that harde was it to judge whither the victorie would incline. The slaughter was great on eyther partie, the stirre was equall, and the maner of fight likewise. Where moste daunger was, there was every man with lively courage most readie to resist and repulse; so the battaile continued more then foure howres in equall balance. All this while the duke of Alanson rested not to pray and exhort his soldiers not to quaile, nor to suffer their enemies, even now at the poynt of flight, to be conquerours. But the duke of Bedford was no lesse provident and painefull to go from place to place, to encourage his souldiers to enforce the fight everye where; who at the last perceaving the Frenchemen, being faint with labor and travaile, to be more feeble in fight then before (for such is the nature of the Frenche, that they are not able to abide a long battaile, that to make their enemies afraide, they will geve a prowde bragge readily, but not accustomed to mainteyne the same out afterward), then, therefore, with might and main he assailed them, and all his whole armie folowing him, did with such force invade thenemie, as that

A greate Batle wone by the duke of Bedford at Vernayll.

first he caused them geave grounde, and immediatly drove them headlong to the flight. There was killed in that battaile five thousand French men, whereof the chiefe were therle of Boughan, admirall of Fraunce, and John Steward, a noble man of Scotland, who, as we have before mentioned, came to the ayde of Charles, and tenn Frenche noblemen more that were of government, and had charge. There were taken about two hundred, and amongst them John duke of Alanson; but the report is, that there were killed and taken fifteen thousand. Of thenglish partie there were wanting two thousand, partly horsmen, partly footmen. The Frenche men receaved this discomfiture in the yere of our salvation 1425, and the thirde of king Henries reigne.

Many noblemen of Scotlande slain in the same batle.

1425.

The duke of Bedford, after thobtayning of so honorable and great victorie, incontinent kneeled downe upon his knees, holding up his handes, and yeelded unto God immortall thankes for so great a benefite, and for a certaine space weeping for joy, he prayed devoutly, afterward givinge the Frenche men leave to depart he receaved againe Vernoill, and, placing therein a garrison, returned unto Paris. But the earle of Salisbury went to besiege Mountes, a most rich and stronge towne; the citizens whereof, although they were in great terror, both by reason of the sodeine approche of thenemie, and also of the name of Salisbury, which was very famous, as well amongst his enemies as his owne people and countrimen, yet their care and preparation was great to defende themselves, insomuch that the towne was furnished within throughly with a multitude of most valiant souldiers. Thenglish earle placed his tentes as nere the towne as he possiblye might without annoyance of his people, and did so shake and batter the walles with brazen peeces, which the Italians call bombardes, the use whereof (being begonn but in the yere of our Lorde God 1370,*

Vernoille recovered by the English.

Mounts beseged and wonne.

First beginning of gones, 1370.

* All the Latin Editions of "Polydore Vergils History," and his book "de Inventoribus Rerum," say, M.CCC.LXXX.—Ed.

as in the IIth booke of the Inventours of thinges, the 11th chapter, is declared) was not so well knowen before that time to the Frenche men, that within fewe dayes a great part of the walles about the towne was beatt downe to the grounde. Upon the sight whereof thinhabitaunts of Mountes, wythout hope of reliefe which unto that day they had expected, having obtained leave for the garrison of souldiers there safely to depart, yeelded the Towne.

St. Susanes takene.

And the same being strongly fortified and furnished with souldiers, William earle of Suffolke was made captaine thereof, and the armie was conveyed to St. Susannes, a towne within the same region, of great renowme. One Ambrose Delore was captaine thereof, a notable and famous man of warre, and had there with him a great crewe of souldiers. After that the earle of Salesbury had well viewed the situation and nature of the place, he made all thinges ready to geve thassault at that part where the towne seemed to be least fortified; ladders were laide too, and at the first showt and assault they attained almost to the topp of the walles, but the townesmen with the Frenche garrison, who durst not issue out of the towne to skirmish with the enemy, begann then to make resistance, and repulsed the force in all that they might. The assault was continued that day and often afterward, with great bloudshed and slaughter on both sides; but thinhabitantes were neverthelesse earnest in fight. As soone as the earle of Salesbury sawe and understoode howe that in such maner of bickering he could nothing prevaile, he withdrewe his souldiers into their tentes: and first environing the wall with trenche and diche, afterwarde gave commandement that such as had charge of the great shott shoulde laye their ordinance to the weakest places, and so day and night batter the wall; which was done without delay, so that within fewe dayes there were made large breaches therein; wherwithall

The castle of Mayone takene.

Delore was put in terror, so that he yeelded the towne, paying for the safe passage away of him and his, two thousand crownes, which was to depart without armor, every man with one onely garment.

After that, the earle of Salesbury tooke the castle of Maion, and divers other townes, partly by force, partly by composition. In the meane time the fame of this geere was spread over all Fraunce, by reason whereof some were stricken in feare, some in heavines; but in England, upon the receit of letters of victory, which the duke of Bedford sent very often, all men did leape for joye, that their governors in warre and captaines had vanquished in plaine field, and had gotten so many townes at once; wherefore the lordes of the counsaile tooke order with Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, that he should appoint publike prayers to be made forthwith, whereby it might appere that they did rather ascribe those victories to God then to their owne forces. During that time also, king Charles, having receaved so many discommodities altogethers, thought not to omitt any care necessary as towching his owne affaires, but gathered newe supplye of soldiers on every side, and principally demaunded ayde of James king of Scottes, which he did not only not denye, but immediately sent Robert Patillok, a bolde and hardie gentleman, with a company of valiant souldiers, to joyne with Archebold, although that the duke of Glocester, governor of England, did repine much therat, and dealt with king James by ambassadours, that he would not take on hande to doo contrary to the league which he had made a little before with king Henry: but frendshipp prevailed more then justice with the Scottish king.

Mena, called in some Chron. Mayon le Juliez.

Publicke prayeres made throwe England for the good successe in France.

The Kinge of Scots joynes with the Frenche.

Whilest that the English affaires had prosperous successe in Fraunce, the duke of Glocester and Jacobine his wife passed the seas, and tooke from John duke of Brabant Mounts, the most famous citie in all Henault, and all other possessions whatsoever the said John helde, as in the right of his wife Jacobine, which dealing the duke of Burgoigne Phillip, who was a patrone of the duke of Brabantes cause, tooke in evill part: and not mistrusting but that the duke of Glocester would, for the old good-will and frendshipp betwixt them twoo, yeelde to that which was for his

The duke of Glostere tooke Mounts in Fraunce, in right of his wiffe.

honor. He therefore dealt with the duke by letters, admonishing him to leave off that wicked enterprise, affirming openly, that it was as dishonorable an offence to enter upon and holde another mans possessions, as to pollute another mans bedd. But the duke of Glocester was so farre from giving eare to the wholsome councell of his frende, as, whether it were that he were blinded with love or with covetousness, he boasted that he would defend with armes the possession of those places which he had taken from the duke of Brabant. Who when as he was within short time after called againe into England of necessitie, about divers weightie affaires, left the said Jacobine in Henault with a great number of souldiers, to defend her owne possessions against the duke of Brabant. But after the duke of Glocester was departed, then loe, the duke of Brabant made warre against the woman, wherewithall, when they were both well wearied, the matter was at the last deferred to Martin the Vth, bisshop of Rome. As soone as he had examined the cause, he gave sentence, as concerning the mariage with the duke of Brabant, and by his authoritie denounced the contract betwixt Jacobine and the duke of Glocester utterly voyde. And the matter so ended, Jacobine did sticke unto her former husband, and that not altogethers against the will of the duke of Glocester, as whom right and reason had ruled, and the importunacie of the woman had begoon alreadie above measure to make wearie.

The bishop of Rome gave sentence against the maryage of the duke of Glocester and his wyffe.

During this time, Edmond duke of Somerset, who was lieftenaunt of Normandie, repaired St. James Towne, which had been rased long time before, adjoyning upon the Britans, and fortified it with a strong garrison. This Edmund succeeded in that earldome unto his brother John the first duke of Somerset, who dying lefte behinde him one onely daughter called Margaret, who (as shalbe spoken of otherwhere) brought forth unto Edmund, erle of Richmonde, king Henry the Seventh, and John the first earle begott the saide second John and Edmond his brother, which first earle

(as we have before declared), Richard the Second made marquise Dorsett, because he issued from John duke of Lancaster, his uncle, begotten of Catherine his third wife. Hereof I thought good to geve warning, that the saide Margarete had no wronge, though she succeeded not John her father in the earldome of Somersett; for, by reason of an auncient custome in England, dukes and earles have their titles of dignitie of the counties, within the which oftentimes they have no possessions nor patrimonie; but their revenue consisteth of lands and possessions which they have otherwhere; wherefore, it maketh litle matter who succeede in those titles, which the Kinges maiestie at his pleasure bestoweth as he list upon them whom he maketh dukes or earles, as before in the 19th booke I have explaned. But we have digressed sufficiently. While that the fortune of warre was in this sort variable, the duke of Britaine, remembring howe that in times past the Englishmen had geven attempt to gaine soveraigntie in the earldome of Britany, and fearing presently that when the Frenche should be conquered they would cast an eye to his earldome, determining with himselfe to drive away and remove the contagion of such disease imminent, as he untruly suspected, revolted unto king Charles, whom that matter much encouraged, being for the evill successe of late attemptes in some terror. Wherefore, for the duke's cause, he made his brother Arthure, whom the state of England had created earle of Richmonde, who also presentlye with his brother had revolted, admirall of Fraunce: which charge the earle of Boughan of late had, who was killed at the battaile of Vernoile. The duke lived not longe after, and lefte behinde him three sonnes, Fraunces, Peter, and Gyles: Fraunces succeeded his father; but I will returne to Arthur. He by reason of his newe office, desirous of renowne, thought he should doo very acceptable service to the French King if he might winne the towne of St. James, and cast out the English garrison; wherefore, gathering togethers almoste twentie thousand

Arthure, brother to the E. of Britany made E. of Richmond.

St. James de Beneon.

men, he besieged the towne, and began to assault it couragiously. The Englishmen suspecting no such matter, were troubled with this sodaine attempt, and did hardly defend the gates: but by litle and litle taking heart of grace, and consulting together, they begann to make resistance; and in the meane time, part issuing out at the castle gate, which is towarde the walles, and part sallying out of the towne otherwhere, made head, and gave charge upon thenemy before and behinde. Then the Frenchemen disordered with this sodaine alarme, being out of hope that it was preignable by assault, some ranne away, some were killed, and some drowned in a lake or diche nigh unto the town. And so Arthure, omitting the seige, returned to the campe which was harde by, whether also many of his company had before withdrawen themselves out of the chase. The night folowing the Frenchmen were in great chafe for evill handling of this matter, every one putting the blame thereof to other (for the state of warres is such, that in victorie cowardes will boast and bragg, but upon a discomfiture the very best souldiers shalbe burdened with dishonor), so that a mutinewe rose sodainly thereof, and every man forsooke the campe and departed, though that Arthure did earnestly require the contrary, especially because they should leave their ordinaunce unto thenemy. But Arthure, very sorowfull that so great an attempt should fall out so evill, thinking by some valiant exploit to put away the dishonor of that shamefull flight, marched from thence with all speede into Angeow, and every where as he went wasted, destroyed, spoyled, and tooke one or two townes, with which furious fact all the rage was sodainly appeased. About the same time the duke of Bedford departed into England, partly to remove certaine privie grudges from amongst the noble men proceeding upon envy, which were fitt to be speedily layde apart, partly to levie a newe supplye of souldiers. Soone after his arrivall he called the Councell togethers, and, when the differences amongst the nobilitie was throughly examined,

The duke of Bedford returnes into England.

those who were found to be in fault, were by just desert, and by most honorable assent of the whole borde, rebuked that they should in the time of forreyne warres, for revenge of private injuries, stirre the people at home to sedition and uprores; at which time, most principally of all other, it was every mans part to upholde unitie of minde and concorde. He after exhorted them to defend with all their devoire the dignitie and high reputation of king Henry, under whose fortunate government at that time all Fraunce was in a maner subdued to the English empire; whose wordes so moved the noble men which mutually hated one another, that by and by they agreed, and by authoritie of parliament a great levie of men was appoynted to be made; which matters brought to pass according to his desire, and the state of the common wealth reformed, as the matter and time required, the duke returned into Fraunce with as much celeritie almoste as he came from thence, accompanied with a multitude of choyse souldiers, whereof he made chiefe captaine John lord Talbot, a man amongst men of reputation in deede esteemed both for nobilitie of birth and haultines of courage, of most honorable and high renowne, who was afterward conqueror in so many sundry conflictes, that both his name was redowted above all others through Fraunce, and yet contineweth of famous memory universally at this day. There folowed the duke, Henry, both bisshopp of Winchester and cardinall of St. Eusebius, sonne to John duke of Lancaster by his thirde wife, called, by reason of the place where he was born, Beauforde, a man of great providence and sufficiencie, who most of all other supported the English affaires, being often in distresse, with councell and treasure. The duke of Bedford, a little after his return into Fraunce, had intelligence by espials, that Montarge, which is a towne within the territory of Orliance, was without garrison, insomuch that it might easily be surprised: whereupon he sent thither part of the retinew which was at Paris, and the whole

John Lo. Talbott passeth into Fraunce.

supply which he had brought out of England under the government of Richarde earle of Warwicke, who tooke as great journeys as he possibly might untill he came to the towne: but, understanding that the same was furnished with men more strongly than the report had been, would not assault it, but, encamping himselfe nigh thereto, besieged it rounde about. These doeings came quickly, what by common report, what by messages, unto the eare of Arthure, admirall of Fraunce, who perceaving the matter to require diligence, and that himself could not at that time relieve the towne, sent forthwith Stephen Hyre, a Frenche knight, with most part of his armie, to raise the siege. After that the saide Frenche men were come thither, they, trusting to their multitude, wherein they did muche exceede, set upon their enemies campe, and breaking the trenches thereof after great slaughter, put the English men to flight. I finde written of some authours that there was 1500 English men either killed with the sword, or drowned in the next river that runneth into Yon, the bridge which was over the same being broken with the swey of people that thronged over the same. But at that time it seemed there could not happen to the Frenche partie anye thing so joyfull, which was not intermingled some other way with heavines: for at the very selfsame season Nicholas Browgh, sent by the duke of Somersett to annoy thenemy within the boundes of Britaine, (who, as we have a litle before shewed, had yeelded themselves to the amitie of the Frenche,) departed, sending out his horsmen all abroade, by whom the forrow was so mainteyned every waye, without resistance, as that all villages and buildinges every where were burned, great bootie was driven from all places, townes of small strength were taken, and the inhabitantes of the same eyther killed or ledd away captive to be raunsomed. The saide boundes being in this sort wasted and destroyed, Nicholas retyred unto the armie in Normandie with huge bootie, and without any wounde receaved by himselfe, or any of his retinewe.

Borthus. Nicholas Browghe revolts to the Frenche.*

* Such is the side note.—Ed.

This discomfiture of their confederates did somewhat appall and diminish the loftines of the Frenche, not without cause, being otherwise verye haultie for the late victorie, whom on thother side, againe, the returne of John duke of Alanson did greatly encourage: for he, being taken the yere before at the battaile of Vernoille, was let home out of England about the same time, paying for his raunsome a hundred thousand crownes.

Mayne was soliseted to revolte, and by treason gotten.

While that these thinges were done otherwhere, thinhabitantes of Mayne were solicited to revolt, for the chiefe men in the citie, who long before grudged at the government of thenglish nation, when they understoode that the Britains refusing the amitie of England had submitted themselves to the protection of king Charles, supposing that his side would shortly prevaile, resolved to receave the Frenche men into the towne. And having devised the mean and time, howe and when to execute their intent, they discovered by moste secret messengers their privie conspiracie unto the chiefe captaines of the Frenche armie, lying in campe not farre off, who, upon so good oportunitie gotten, commended greatly the citizens, and promised to be readie in time, laboring them, neverthelesse, with all faire speeche and promise of rewarde to hasten diligently the performance of that which they had determined. When the day came, the Frenche captaines drew nigh secretly in the night, and, geving signe of their arrivall by a blase of fire, approached the towne. The watch of the citie which was upon the walles, awaiting their comming, espied the fire afarre off, and gave the same signe againe: then was the fire put out on both parties, and the Frenche men presently proceeded to the gate. The conspiratours within came also sodenly unto the gates; they killed the watch sleeping in their beddes, and opened the gate. The Frenche men entered with their footmen, commanding their horsemen to stay, that, as occasion should require, they might have the field open freely to ride at their pleasure: then they let goe their souldiers every where

to kill thenglish men. The stirre and noyse was such, as in a towne sacked is accustomed; but what the matter meant, not one man did certainly conceave, except only a fewe that were of the conspiracie; the rest of the citizens beleeved that the English men were risen up to sacke and spoyle the towne: the English, againe, thought that the sedition was by meane of some treason wrought by the townsmen. William earle of Suffolke, lieutenant of the place, awaked with the first tumult, after that he understoode by the crye of his people, who being absent that night by chaunce from their warde, were killed every where through the towne, that the Frenche men were lett in, fled quickly, with the garrison which he had, into the castle, which is situate at the gate called commonly the gate of St. Vincent, and from thence sent speedie messengers unto John lord Talbot, who lay at Alanson, with letters, to demaund and earnestly praye him of reliefe. The lord Talbot, after he had read the letters, repaired thither with an armie of light harnessed men well appoynted, sendinge worde before to the lieftenant that he would come to relieve him by and by, and praying them all not to be dismayed. In the meane time the Frenche men rove like rulers in the towne thus taken, and fearing nothing, became so ydle and carelesse, as though there were no daunger imminent from thenemy: for they fell to refresshing of themselves after their great travaile susteyned, and thought they had the Englishmen so shutt up in that turret whereinto they were fledd, that they would not possibly attempt any warlike practise, but would incontinent treate for the safetie of their lives. Howbeit, the lord Talbot tooke great journeys, and was forthwith at hande, who being receaved of his countrymen in at the gate which they did enjoy, entred the towne, and even as they looked for, so they founde all thinges without order or care, as in prosperitie is accustomed; no warders before the gates, and the same wide open; the vanquisher roving, and onely rejoycing for the

The earle of Suffolke sente to the Lo. Talbot for ayde.

Mayne is recovered againe by the Lo. Talbot.

libertie of the citie, and slaughter of the enemy. By that occasion was the town taken againe of the Englishmen. Thus were the French conquerours killed every where, and had not so much leysure, as eyther to assemble togethers, or yet to arme themselves; wherefore every man, for safetie, fledd to the gates, but finding them kept by thenemy, they were sodenly in despaire to be saved by flight, and therefore begann then to crye for mercie; whereupon the lord Talbot proclaymed, that every man should disarme himselfe, and that the unarmed should be forborne, and the armed onely killed. So the Frenchmen conceaving hope of life, cast away their weapons, and yeelded to their enemy: part of them were killed, and part committed; which exploit having taken fortunate effect, the lorde Talbot departed to Ponthoyse, and took it. But earle William, the lieftenant, made inquirie upon the conspiracie of thinhabitantes of Mayne, and punished such as were founde to be principalls therein.

Ponthoyse taken by the lord Talbot.

Seing that the English affaires had at that time such prosperous successe, Thomas Montacute conceaved advisedly good hope to winne Orleaunce. That is a most mightie citie, which of olde time was called *Geneve*, scituate upon the river of Seyne, in that part of the countrie which sometime was termed the Gawle Celtyk. But because the scituation of the place was naturally of passing strength, he thought good to conferre thereupon with others, though himselfe were thonely man by whose prowesse thenglish nation was universally much more terrible to the French men, uppon whom the whole state of the common wealth of England did depende, as appered plainly afterward when he was dead: and therefore might have ordeyned and done many thinges after his owne fantasie, for he was a man alwaye of most ready witt and mature judgement, valiant to enterprise great matters, and in greatest daunger pollitike; neyther body nor minde would ever yeeld to painfulnes nor travaile; by reason whereof there was none

Genebum. Orleance beseegede by the E. of Salesburye.

in whom the men of warre had more confidence, nor under whom they durst so well attempt any daungerous exployte. Wherefore, after that deliberation had bene a pretie space of so weightie a cause, though the matter was thought hard, and of most great difficultie, yet for because he, measuring the same according to the hawtines and forces of his minde and body, thought it but easie to be atchieved; all men, therefore, did alowe his opinion; wherefore thearle, full of good hope and courage, having provided all thinges needfull for the besieging of the towne, accompanied with William earl of Suffolke and the lord Talbot, conducted his armie towardes Orleance, and encamped himselfe not past a mile from the same: then he drewe neere and viewed the site therof, the walles, and what part seemed strongest with wall, water, or warrier, which when he had perfectly viewed, seing no souldiers abrode without the gates, he approched even to the walles. Here he tooke counsell upon the naturall situation of the place; for there was a bridge upon the citie of Leyre, whereby victuals were continually brought out of the countrie into the towne: there were also certaine other lesser townes not farre off, standing upon the water side, which also relieved the towne with necessaries. These did he first bring in subjection, and fortified with garrison. In like maner also he caused the bridge to be kept with watch and warde: moreover, he erected in longe circuit about, certaine fortresses, furnishing them with men and artillerie; afterward, derivining a trenche from fort to fort, he environed the towne, and planting his ordnance in convenient place, beganne to annoy the same. On thother side, those of Orleaunce, a litle before the comming of the enemy, prepared all thinges necessary for their defence; they burned the suburbes of the towne, they spoyled the countrey rounde about of all kinde of victuals and forrage, gathering the same into the towne. And when they saw their enemies to have compassed the towne, then they planted ordinance against ordinance, they made rampires and

countermures all alongst within, least by reason of any breache that might happen to be made in the walles, the Englishmen might enter; they also prepared number of men sufficient to defende the walles, whereof they made captaine Stephan Hyre, and John the bastard sonne of Charles their duke, taken a fewe yeres before at the battaile of Agincourt, and as yet remayning prisoner in Englond. And so the English earle approched the walles, and begann to geve thereunto very sharpe assault. There was dayly skirmishing by reason of the citizens sallying sometime out of the towne, otherwhile fighting from their bulwarkes and towres of defence; but the Englishmen so placed their archers, whereof the number was great, that right many of the towne were wounded, and the terror of that shott was great. While this adoe was of eyther side, king Charles sent Lewes duke of Burbon to ayde them of Orleaunce with an armie of men well appoynted; he hearing by the way, that certaine bondes of English souldiers should bring from Paris into the campe great store of victualls, determined to set upon them unwares, and chaunging his purposed journey, marched towardes them: John Fastolf, captaine of the said companies, had intelligence of his comming, by meane of scurryers, and forthwith caused the cariage to stay, araying his men in order rounde about the same. That done, he sent forth his horsemen, and receaved the charge of thenemy approaching with such courage and withal made such slaughter, as that the Burbonian retired of his owne accorde, with the losse of more than two hundred of his men; who proceeding to Orleaunce, got harde entrance with a very fewe. But John Fastolfe, marching at ease, came unto the campe with the said victuals, voyde of all hinderance or lett. The newes thereof brought by messengers into England, made there a double joye: for at the same time, which was about the eyght ides of November, Henry being but a childe of eyght yeres

The duke of Burbon entred into Orleance.

H. 6 crowned King in England, 1429.

age, was with great solemnitie after the auncient custome crowned, which was the yere of our salvation 1429.

Thus the siege of Orleance continued the more part of winter, with great perill, many woundes, and much slaughter: for the Englishmen, in cruell assaultes, did every where eyther kill or wounde many of their enemies. Againe, the towne valiantly defending, requited them the like; when, as in the meane space, the chaunce was, that the earle of Salisbury, loth to tarry longer, and desirous to winne the towne, one day early before sonnrise, began to viewe the same againe more earnestly then he was wont, out at a certaine windowe of buildings which he had in an high place, to thintent he might espye where to geve commodiously a newe assault; which he thought mightily to assay as one inflamed with desire eyther to winne the towne by force, or to cause it yeelde. While that he was busied in this order, and by the space of 60 days did vehemently annoy the citizens, behold even sodenly eyther an yron or stone pellett, shott out of a brasen peece with great force right against the place where he stoode, did strike and breake thone side of the windowe, and drove certaine shilvers thereof into his face, wherewithall he was so wounded as that he dyed thereof two dayes after. He lefte one Alis, his onely daughter, very like him in conditions, vertue, and honor, whom, as we shall hereafter shewe, one Richard Nevill took to wife. But howe great losse the common wealth sustained through his untimely death appered evidently incontinent. Truely from that day forth the English forrain affaires beganne to quaile; which infirmitie though the English nation, as a most sounde and strong body, did not feele at the first, yet afterward they suffered it as a pestilence and sicknes inwardly, by litle and litle decaying the strength: for immediatly after his death the fortune of warre altered, as hereafter shalbe declared in place convenient; wherefore the death of

The E. of Salisburye slaine in a windowe.

Alis, d. & heire to the E. of Salesbury, maryed to Richard Neville.

the earle was much lamented of all the captaines in generall, who, neverthelesse, after that they had performed all thinges for his buriall, mainteined the siege and sought to atchieve that which the earle of Salesbury had in mind determined, which was, by what meane they might eyther take the towne by force, or, at the least, compell the citizens to yeelde. William Nevill, a valiant and expert man of warre, was principally carefull and painfull in this matter: he did continually annoy the enemy, and caused his souldiers more diligently to keepe watch in the night, to mainteyne fight on the day, exhorting, fighting, and bearing out all disadvauntage with great magnanimitie. Neyther did the residue of captaines omitt any thing which they thought meete for subduing of the towne. By which meanes finally it came to passe, that those of Orleance, almost despairing of reliefe, began to consult amongst themselves concerning the geving up of the towne. After that severall opinions were uttered touching the avoiding of that daunger, many did accompt and esteem it as a most high dishonor, and as evill as the utter destruction of the towne, to submitt themselves to thenglish men, cool frendes to the French nation: on thother partie, they feared the victory of thenemy, for that thereupon are wont to proceede both many mischiefes, and sometime indeede very tyranny, wherefore they supposed, that it was as well the part of unwise men not to beware hereof, as the consenting or yeelding to abide thother was to be attributed to a servile inclination. But when they sawe the matter brought in great distresse, both to avoide slaunder and miserable fate, they adjudged one thing most fitt for their purpose, and that was to submitt themselves, and all that they had, under the protection of Philip duke of Burgoigne, because he was descended from the most auncient stocke of the kinges of Fraunce, and for that, as every man had conceaved opinion, the matter would so fall out in the ende, that he would once at the last forsake the English amitie.

This resolution being allowed, and the duke of Burgoignes minde herein by secret messengers knowen (which was that he would favourably receave them, so that the duke of Bedford should like thereof) they sent ambassadours to the duke at Paris; who, after their ambassage heard, called the councell togethers, and declared what condicions of peace they of Orleance did offer. Some thought the yeelding upon those condicions was to be admitted, to thende that so great and riche a citie might by this meane be withdrawen from the partie of king Charles. But the duke of Bedford, and the better part of councellours thought it would be a foule, perillous, and detestable example, if a towne so longe besieged, and nowe almost taken for and in the name of king Henry, should finally come under the subjection of any others than the king himselfe: for truelye, others would readily folowe their example of Orleance, and therefore such conditions were not to be graunted unto. This sentence tooke place, and thambassadours were aunswered, that the warres were kept for king Henry: and likewise the victory ought to be his. With this aunswere the duke dismissed thambassadors: but upon litle occasion commeth often great alteration, for two mischiefes fell out thereupon. First the duke of Burgoigne, angry in minde, supposed that the English men did envy his renowme, and therefore even then begonn to be evill affected towardes them. Secondly, the Englishmen were forced afterward to leave the siege.

Ambassadors sent from Orleance to the duke of Bedford, with conditions of submission.

The ambassadores message refused.

While that those of Orleance treate by ambassadours with thenemye for peace, king Charles gathereth forces on every side, and with faire promises seeketh to alienate the nobilitie of Fraunce from the amitie of England. Also he carefully prepareth victuals which he might send to the besieged Orleances, at which time there was brought unto him a cetaine damosell of thage of twentie yeres, or thereaboutes, a damosell so called for that she had preservyd her virginitie, who was endowed both with singuler witt,

Orleance releaved with victuales by the conducte of a woman.

and could also foreshewe thinges to come; who, when she came before the king, being apparailed as then after the common sort of other men, because she would not be knowen, is reported to have saluted him as foloweth: "O King, be of good cheere, and feare not, for you shall overcome your enemies, and that by the conduct of me, and shall at the last restore your countrey to thaunceient libertie, if that you shall not thinke it unworthie for your kingly maiestie to use the helpe of a woman." King Charles, who greatly feared his afflicted state, gave credit readily unto her speeche, and conceaved very good hope, as one persuaded that the damosell had receaved some inwarde revelation from God, and the rather because she had saluted him by the name of King, when he was not apparailed as a king. But there was another matter also, which caused his hope: for the damosell demanded a sworde, which, as she saide, was revealed unto her to hange in the church of St. Catherine at Towres, amongst thauncient offeringes there; whereat king Charles mervailing, made searche for the sworde, and, finding it, caused the same to be brought to the damosell, and the rather to make proufe of hir vertue then that he had great confidence of any notable exploit to be atchieved by a woman, he committed to her in charge a bande of souldiers, and part of the victuals, wherewith she might go to relieve the towne. The damosell, so armed, led, as captaine, all that company to Orleance, and whether it were that she deceaved the watch, or that she went invisible by divine power, so it was, that in the dead of the night, she passed through the middest of her enemies into the towne, and brought in the victuals without hurt of her people. In the meane time, the Englishmen, assuring themselves that the citizens were not able long to abide the siege for want of corne, did not presse them so earnestly as before, and were more negligent in their watch; but when they knew that Joane, a damosell, had conveyed in victuall, though they had in contempt the

woman who was become a souldier, yet in great rage, for the reliefe which was sent, they determined much more sharply to assault thenemy; and therfore the captaines exhorting their souldiers, once at the last, after so great toyle, to receave the fruit of victory, promised great rewarde to them that first should scale the walles. After proclamation wherof, sodenlye they flye from all partes unto the wall, they fill it full, contending both with shott of all sortes, and also with weapons, to expell thenemy from defence thereof, continuing thassault in that order without intermission. Although thenemies were throughly affearde of this newe affray, yet they were not slacke in their owne cause, nor utterly discouraged, for John the bastard signified to king Charles by poste, howe the citie was in great distresse for lacke of corne, and that thenemy was so earnest upon them, as no man's force was able to withstande; wherefore the matter was in such extreme daunger as ear longe it would hardly fall well out; howbeit, to prevent the chaunce thereof, rested in his diligence and ayde. These thinges knowen, king Charles sent with all haste possible both supplye of men and plentie of victuall, which French force was conducted to Orleance, and incamped welnigh two miles from the towne. From thence they gave intelligence to the damosell at Orleance of their comming; they admonished and required her to choose out a company of trayned souldiers, to meete them the next day, and to procure their safe entrance into the towne, which after the Englishmen had permitted them to doo, who supposed it should be for their owne availe to suffer many enter into the towne, wherein famine did reigne alreadie, the Frenchemen all at once issued the day folowing out of the citie thicke and threefolde, and so set upon the next fortresse with might and maine continually, that, after great slaughter on both parties, they tooke and burned the same. Then with greater courage they assault another much bigger. Here, because the force of the defendantes was

well great, the fight was more vehement. The Frenche, who did exceed in number, environing it round about, gave eger assault on every side. The English for defect of fortification, which beganne nowe to be broken, were in distresse every way, and hardly able to holde out, neyther yet the very lorde Talbot, who was not farre off, and helde the thirde fortresse, was able to relieve them in this extremitie of conflict, being afeard, least by his absence that fort also, whereof he was captaine, might be lost; wherefore the English men, pressed a good while with all these difficulties, at the last were driven from their place; and yet araying themselves in forme of a triangle, sodenly they withdrewe to the lorde Talbot in the thirde bastile. The lorde Talbot without delaye sallyed foorth against the multitude with a number of souldiers well appoynted, and putting his enemies in great terror he both comforted his owne folkes, delivering them from feare, and repressed thenemy, insomuch as that they retyryd hastily within the walles. The Englishmen made the lesse slaughter, because the bastile, wherein they receaved the first brunt of thassailantes, was not stronge. Not long after, the lorde Talbot called the counsell togethers, and declared to them very many causes for the which he thought that the siege of a towne so long assaulted, and, as it were, by divine providence defended, was eyther to be utterly forsaken, or to another time to be referred, when as they might with better lucke geve newe attempt, least otherwise they should consume the time wherein; when winter was ended, they might proceede to warres more necessary. This opinion was allowed generally of all men, not so much for liking as for necessitie; and so, upon signe geven to remove, they withdrewe to Magdune. Upon whose departure *Magdunum.* those of Orleance were sodenly replenished with all joy and mutuall gladnes, for that they had escaped so great daunger. Wherefore, referring the benefite thereof to God, publique prayer was appoynted for sundry dayes togethers, they gave prayse to him in all

holy churches, beseeching him of universall victorie. Here truly we may see that he sometimes getteth to litle who coveteth too much. Indeede thenglish men might have overcommed; but esteeming the yeelding of Orleance greatly to their dishonour, if it had been made in other sort than they demaunded, they neglected the victorye, as though it had been theirs alreadie; but afterwarde, they were so farre from gayning of the towne, as that meere necessitie made them desist from their enterprise. But the Frenche triumphantly rejoysing for the repulse of thenemy, determined in no part to omitt that good oportunitie of dealing in their owne cause, and therefore, forthwith they made rodes through all the territory of Orleance, to thintent they might recover againe such townes as thenemy held with garrison: First, they went to Jargeaux, and within fewe dayes tooke it, killing there more then two hundred Englishmen, and taking fortie prisoners; howbeit, of their owne retinewe were wanting also three hundred.

The seege retyred from Orleance.

Gargeum.

But the lorde Talbot, whom we have before mencioned, anone upon his breaking up of the siege of Orleance to have gone to Magdune, after that he had fortified the towne with garrison, marched to Lavalle, where he pight his tentes harde by the wall, and having well viewed the scituation of the place, with great exhortation to his souldiers, so fiercely assaulted the same, as that three days after his arrivall there he tooke bothe the towne and castle; but the townesmen, whose froward obstinacie was deemed woorthy of smart, he punished severely. The Frenche men, on thother side, after the recovery of Jargeaux, marched with all their forces, under the conduct of the damosell aforesaide, unto Magdune, and incamped under the wall; which thing once knowen, the lord Talbot, and John Fastolfe, with an armie well appoynted, made haste thither to relieve their frendes; whereof, after that Arthure constable of Fraunce had intelligence by espials, he without more adoe, calling to him the damosell, and John duke of Alanson,

Magdune taken by the lo. Talbot.

marching forward with all force, to stopp their passage, pight his tentes at Patay, a towne unto the which he thought his enemies would repaire, and placed his horsmen in order of battaile before his tentes, to geve charge upon thenemy approching, and to geve the first onset, while thenglish men marched forwarde in their voyage, espying a farre off the cavallery of Fraunce, they suspected some traine to be made for them, which was to be avoyded; wherfore they stay, and commande their footmen to empale themselves round about with stakes, after their accustomed maner; but the cavallery of Fraunce came upon them with so great speede, as having no leysure to put themselves in readines to fight, they were forced to fight a field with horsmen. In this place, when as the conflict had continued more than three houres, thenglish horsmen, oppressed with multitude, were put to flight. But the footmen, having spent almoste all their arrowes, marched forth close togethers, with their swordes drawen, and by helpe of some part of the horsmen, came safe to Magdune. At the first encounter was killed about a thousand Englishmen, a hundreth were taken, amongst whom was John lorde Talbot. Of the Frenche partie were slaine more then six hundred souldiers. But after it was spred abrode through Fraunce that the lorde Talbot was taken, by and by every man had opinion that thenglish partie was the weaker, insomuch that many townes at one instant revolted to the Frenche, for all men generally were ravished with flagrant desire to recover libertie. Then, finally, they hoped for good lucke, then had they confidence that God would deliver from troubles the common wealth of Fraunce, which seemed even now to advaunce it selfe, for as much as God, pleased by prayers, is wont to relieve the afflicted.

Great slaughter made of the English, and Jo. lo. Talbot taken.

Many towns revolted from the Englishe.

When king Charles was advertised of this victory, then, finally, he conceaved in minde and assured opinion of restitution and libertie, who had been hithertowarde of such noble courage as in

his moste adversitie he did never dispaire, wherfore nowe the earle of Salesbury being deade, and the lord Talbot captive, two of the most excellent captaines amongst all his enemies, the magnaminitie of his minde was much increased; and therefore, to beginne withall, he determined to goe unto Rheins, that winning that towne he might there, according to the maner of his auncestors, be with accustomed ceremony annoynted King, to thintent it might be apparant to all men that even as he called himselfe, so was he in deede, and so to be called, a King, as well by due consecration as by right. And so with a huge armie, under the conduct of the damosell or virgin aforesaide, whom as an oracle he consulted in all his affaires, passing through Champaigne, he marched to Auxer; there, when as he approched, ambassadours came out of the citie to meete him, promising that they would willinglye obey his commaundementes, so that it might please him to spare them for a few dayes, wherein they might knowe (for duties sake) whether thenglish men would relieve them or not. Charles, because he would not offend the good minde of the citizens towardes him by any unlawfull fact, graunted their desire, and entrenching part of his armie not farre from the citie, garding also the same sufficiently, that the townes men should not beguile him, he conducted the residue thereof unto Troyes. This being the chiefe towne of all Champaigne, he assayed within fewe dayes to besege, which in the ende was yeelded unto him upon permission of thenglish men who were placed there in garrison to depart. In like maner did those of Chalons, where, placing a garrison, he passed the river of Marne, and besieged Rheins, which he recovered easily; for the citizens could not well beare thinglish government, and were therefore not willing to abide the siege; but for that they should not be reported to have betrayed the towne, they opteyned of king Charles libertie for thenglish garrison safely to depart. When king Charles had receaved the towne, he was there annoynted after the use of his

Rheines revolted to Kinge Charles, and then he was ther crowned Kinge.

auncestors, unto whom the cities of all that faction had sent their chiefe and principall personages, as oratours, who forthwith assembled joyfully to salute him, protesting that they nowe at the last understood Almightie God to have pitie upon the miseries of Fraunce, and to have restored unto them the libertie which they had receaved longe since from their auncestors. Thinhabitantes of Auxer also, after the prefixed day, seeing the Englishmen did send no reskue, submitted themselves to his obeysance.

In the meane time, the duke of Bedford had deep consideration as touching all partes of the realme, and perceaving the taking of the lorde Talbot to be muche hinderance to his affaires, insomuch that certaine cities, voyde of all feare, made no doubt to alienate themselves, and many mo dayly affected to revolte, he to prevente the daunger hereof, determined by all meanes possible to procure king Charles to the fielde, that the event of victory (whiche by Gods helpe he assured himselfe upon) might keepe the people which he had yet left in obedience and feare. And so departing from Paris, he marched towardes king Charles, who a litle before was gone from Rhems to Dammartine; and taking certaine principall townes by the way, which he also furnished with men, had made there his abode, meaning to corrupt the Parisians with payment or promise. The duke of Bedford approched, and pitching his campe upon an hill, sent out his horsmen to provoke, stirre upp, and egge thenemy both with weapon and worde to fight. King Charles at that time also had no doubt but he might cope with his enemye in plaine fielde; but when he understoode by espialls that the duke was egall unto him, both in number and force, he resolved it better to absteyne, without daunger, then with hazard to joyne battaile, least by temeritie he might interrupt and trouble the prosperous successe of his proceedinges. Wherfore some skirmishing there was by the horsmen betweene the two campes, and nothing els. But when king Charles sawe the

earnest desire and livelynes that thenglishmen had to fight, suspecting least by his tarying occasion would fall out that eyther he must fight against his will, or els shamefully to keepe within the trenches, he raysed his campe about midnight, and removed, which thing when it was knowen, very early in the morning, the duke of Bedford could hardly hold back his men from pursuing thenemy; but he stayed them upon great discretion, because he would doo nothing rashlye. And so dispairing that it was possible to entice king Charles to the fielde, he returned to Paris, purposing to augment his armie, that when as possibilitie might be geven afterwardes he might also with greater force assaile him.

Warre prepared againste the Bohemyanes by the bushope of Rome.

At this very time the Bohemians, who are of a sect different from other Christians, because they obey not the bishop of Rome, partly for defence of their owne heresie, partly (as it chaunceth) moved with envie against other nations, beganne to keepe warre against their neighbours, whereof, after notice was geven to Martine the V^th^., bishopp of Rome, he anone sent legates intoGer many, to move the devout and Godly princes unto warres against the Bohemians, as enemies of Christian religion. Also he made Henry cardinall of St. Eusebius and bisshopp of Winchester, legate who should come out of Englande to that warre, with a certaine force of men. He commaunded him withall to levye by his authoritie the tenthes of all spiritualties, for the mayntenance of religion. This Henry imparting the Popes commandement to the Kinges councell, and they resolving that nothing was thereunto to be preferred, did levye the money, and gathered no small number of souldiers (although that so sundry impositions were neyther daylye paide, nor so many musters of men made, without great hurt to the common wealth). And so, furnished with all thinges, purposing shortly to journey thorough Germany, he came to the sea shore, and the souldiers beganne to take shipping, when as the while letters were sent from the duke of Bedforde to the duke of

The bushope of Winchester, the Popes legate, sente into Germanye.

Glocester, requiring a newe supply of men. The duke of Glocester was greatly troubled with this message; for neyther any other force of men was readie which he might transport, neyther did the time, wherein by reason of the warres against the Bohemians there had been so lately a levye of souldiers, serve at that instant to gather yet againe a newe armie, especially seeing the matter required great haste; who therefore of necessitie made no more adoe, but earnestly requested the bisshop of Winchester that he would first goe with his armie unto the duke of Bedforde, to ayde his owne countrymen in the battaile which the duke of Bedforde was to fight with his enemy; and from thence, having therein good successe, whereof he had no doubt, that he might proceede to the Bohemians. Henry, though he were sory that his journey was hindred, yet because he would not faile his owne nation and frendes, passing thocean, went to Paris to the duke of Bedforde.

The bushope of Winchester, beinge furneshed for his journey into Germany, was commanded to goe first into France.

In this meane while king Charles, advertised from his horsemen, whom he had sent abroade all over to feele the mindes of the people, and to move them to revolte, that Campeigne and Beavoys were well affected towards him, greatlye coveting to be delivered from the dominion of thenglish nation, and therefore readie to open him their gates at his comming, if that they might so doo without ieopardie of their lives, marched therfore with an armie of light and lustie souldiers to Campeigne: whereof when knowledge was had, the duke of Bedforde, having his forces augmented with the great supplye which Henry the cardinall had brought, marched also forwarde towardes thenemy, to thintent he might allure him to some indifferent fight, but he was scarce come within the territory of Senlis, when king Charles entered Mountpillioll, which is betwixt Champeigne and Senlis, where getting a covenable place, he encamped his armie, not meaning to conduct his men out of that place upon small occasion. These thinges were by and by reported by espialls to the duke of

Siluanectum.
Piliolum.

Bedford, who, bringing forth his armie into order of battaile, approached nigh to thenemy, and offred battaile: but the French men kept within Mountpellioll; their horsemen skirmished nowe and then a litle without their trenches, but they would assay nothing els: for king Charles considered howe much force fortune, which is to meane the sodaine and unlooked for event of some casuall thing, yea of least moment, is of in battaile, who was therein perfectly taught and instructed by detrimentes before often receaved. Moreover, when he understoode that manye and great cities of Fraunce did with evil will suffer the government of thenglish nation, and were readie upon oportunitie to revolt, he hoped, without battaile, to expell thenglish men in short space utterly out of all Fraunce: and this, as he adjudged, was the very cause why the duke of Bedford, as a wise man, not ignorant of his owne decaye, desired so much to trye the whole matter at once in battaile. Wherefore taught therein by experience of the causes aforesaide, he was fully resolved in minde, no where to adventure battaile, but in as much as necessitie should constraine him, and that deemed he would be hereafter most for his profite. The duke of Bedforde, who had the Parisiens in gelousie, because they did all his commaundementes in such sort as might well appere to be against their willes, neyther yet much trusted in the duke of Burgoigne, the cause whereof we shall hereafter declare in convenient place, when he sawe his enemy of purpose to deferre the fight, returned to Paris.

The Cardinal of Winchester departeth out of France into Germany.

Then Henry the cardinall legate to the Romane bisshop, with his armie which he had brought before out of Englande, went forth his voyage against the Bohemians xlv^{tie} dayes after that he entred Fraunce: whither when he came, finding the warres all over very hott, he begann valiantly to ayde the christian cause to thuttermost of his power, and taried in Bohemia by the space of certaine monthes, so long, untill that he was revoked by the pope, with other legates; and the cardinall of St. Angell called Julian Soesa-

rine was sent to that warre with great forces. And so the said Henry, after that he had served honorably in that holy warres, returned safe home.

King Charles laboured to drawe the Duke of Burgoigne on his parti.

King Charles, after the duke of Bedfordes departure, receaved into his obedience Campeigne, Beauvays, and Senlis, the citizens yeelding thereunto of their owne accorde: of which fortunate succesce though he much rejoyced, yet he had no hope of habilitie to exterminate the English nation, before he should seperate the societie of them and of the Burgoignion, which in the ende he trusted would once come to passe. And therefore he first assayed by often messengers to purge himselfe unto the duke of Burgoigne of his fathers death, and to admonish him, that nothing was further from all righteousnes and pietie, nothing more undecent, then to deale against his comhabitauntes, against his countrey, or for revenge of private iniuries to joyne with their auncient and perpetuall enemies. After that he begann busily to treate of pacification, to offer high and large condicions of agreement, to promise more then he was able to performe, insomuch that the duke of Bedforde did easily understande his whole drifte, wherefore he, much troubled in minde with deepe and weightie considerations, seing the English affaires greatly decaye, determined to provide for one thing especially what adversitie soever should befall, which was to meane, that if all the holdes which king Henry his brother had woonn in Fraunce, could not be retayned, kept, and defended, yet that Normandie, so longe by his auncestors possessed, might not be lost, according as king Henry himselfe, in the last wordes that ever he spake, had commanded to be done. Wherefore committing the government of the citie of Paris to Lewes Lucemburge, bisshopp of Turwine and chauncellor of Fraunce, leaving also for defence thereof no small garrison, he went into Normandie, whither after his comming he called specially unto him the chiefe of every citie, and first rehearsed unto them the benefites bestowed alway by his

The Duke of Bedford fortefied Parris and wente into Normandy.

auncestours upon the Normans, the restitution of their priviledges and lawes, and also thauncient stocke of the Norman dukes, from whence the kings of England were descended; afterward he exhorted every man by name, that they would with hart and hande be very carefull and earnest to preserve peace, and not to breake their allegiance: this if they would doo, then he assured them they might woorthely hope for at king Henry their kinges hande all that ever they would demaunde. While that the duke of Bedforde is dealing in thaffayres aforesaide, newes was brought unto him that many for feare forsooke both towne and fielde, wherewith being much moved, he calleth togethers his councell: yea, and addeth thereunto the captaines of every bonde, requiring them to saye their opinions as concerning the keeping of the Normans in obedience. All men generally thought best, that the armie should be devided into severall places: and so was one part assigned to defend the sea coast under the government of Richard duke of York; another part was sent to supplye garrisons in cities and townes; the third part was committed to Edmonde duke of Sommersett, to be conducted unto Roane. The duke of Bedford, thus having ordered his affaires, and severed his forces, himselfe returned to Paris. The meane while that these doinges were in Normandie, Charles the Frenche king tooke St. Dionise by treason, and did spedily furnish it with garrison: from thence he sent before John duke of Alanson, and the Mayde, that they might marche apace to Paris, and procure the citizens to revolte, yea, and if they sawe cause, to take in hande thassault: who marched forth in square battaile every souldier havynge his buckler, and approaching the wall, was by great slaughter by thenglish garrison repulsed. Whereof the duke of Bedforde hearing, came in great haste to the towne, and with high commendacions, gave thankes to the citizens, for that they followed not thexample of the Dionisians. But king Charles disappoynted of his purpose in that

matter, enterprised another attempt: for he sent Ambrose Delore to Laignie (which is scituate upon the river of Marne) to whom uppon his arrivall the citie was yeelded. Not long after he departed from thence, leaving there a garrison, as in a place wherein, being of itselfe very stronge, he reposed much trust, and made a voyage into Angeow, at which time thenglish men on thother side wanne againe by force the towne of St. Denis, assaying also to recover Laignie: but the Maide, being therein for succour thereof, made sharpe resistance, and so it was valiantly defended. About the same time certaine companies of English souldiers who rested about Roane, under the conduct of Thomas Tirrell, a valiant gentleman, hearing, as they forrowed abroad, spoyling the countrey, that the towne of Clermont was slenderly manned, assailed the same, and took it at the first brunt. But because they were so fewe, that they might not spare men to fortify the same, therefore first they threwe downe a part of the wall, then sacked the towne, and returned from whence they came loden with great bootie of all kinde. Of another side, the Bourgoignians, under the conduct of John of Lucemburge, marched to Campeigne with a great force of English men, and environed it with a trenche. But neither the towne, being throughly fortified and strong, was easily to be gayned, neyther the siege like to prove to anye purpose, because that it had been perfectly well victualled before. Howbeit, hoping eyther to winne it by assault, or compell it to yeelde, they undergoe the wall, their army being devided in two, and continually, some with arrowe, dart, and suche like, some with great goonshott, others by making mines, and others with other almost perpetuall fight molest the towne, laboring to that ende chiefly that the same might quickly yeelde, when as loe sodainly Joane the maide, the prophetisse of God, as the common sort termed her, though ignorant of her owne fate, came to relieve them, and mightily entred the towne: but soone after when as she sallied out unadvisedly against

Latiniacum.

Joane captaine of the Frenche taken by Jo. of Luxenburghe.

thenemy, she was taken by John of Lucembrowgh, and sent to the duke of Sommersett at Roane.

Joane the captayne of the Frenche was burnt.

This maide, forasmuch as she did many notable exploites above the force of a woman, and in a maner without any skill of martiall discipline, was suspected of the common sorte to deale by witchcrafte: wherefore, accused of sorcerie, she was firste straitly examined by the duke of Sommersets commaundement, as towching the articles of her fayth: afterwarde, because she ware mans apparell, and was verely accompted a witche, therefore was she with severitie condemned and burnt. But the unhappie Maide, remembering, before execution done, what apperteyned to humanitie, which naturally is bredd in every one, fained herselfe to be with childe, to thende she might eyther move her enemies to compassion, eyther els cause them to appoynt some more milde punishment. But after being reserved ix. monthes for that cause, and her surmise founde false, she was burned notwithstanding. This saide sentence thus pronounced was thought the hardest that ever had beene remembred, which could neyther be mollified nor mittigated by tract of time. Surely it was of some thought that this woman thus excited to martiall manly prowesse, for defence of her country, was woorthy favour, especially seeing there were many examples of mercie showed in such case, as that principally which Porsenna King of the Trurions hath left in memorie. For when as he, upon conclusion of peace with the Romanes, had receaved pledges, and amongst them Cloelia a virgin, who, conducting a company of others like, beguiled the watch, and amongst the middest of her enemies swam over Tiber and fledd to her owne people, notwithstanding that afterwarde she was by the league redelivered, yet he did not punish her, but with great commendation gave her part of the pledges, and sent her home againe. But I will returne to the matter.

This was the ende of Joane Puselle, more fitt, as the brute went,

to practise magike than martiall affaires. But the Frenche men to this day will not heare but that she was sent of God from heaven to expell thenemy out of their countrey; for they affirme that she dyed a virgin. After her fall the Frenche failed not in courage, who both with continuall sallyinges out of the towne, and also with ofte bickering in plaine fielde, so annoyed their enemies, that, dispeyring to winne the same, they departed of their owne accorde.

The affaires of England grewe by this meane, from day to day, through Fraunce, woorse and woorse, which did diversly affect the nobilitie: for some, very pensife in mind, deemed the distresse of the present time light, in comparison of that which they forsawe to be imminent: others thought that woorse could not chaunce than had alreadie chaunced, for they sawe the forces of thenemy augmented and their owne diminished: wherefore every man, much musing with ardent affection, considered with himselfe particularly whether it were possible to remedie the state of thinges almost utterly decayed: when as in the end it was resolved, generally, to be best for the present neede that king Henry should repaire, as soone as conveniently might be, with a newe armie into Fraunce, partly to comfort his owne people, partly to keepe under and in obedience the cankred courage of Frenche men, eyther for feare, eyther els for favor, seing the yonge king was of so amiable and lovely countenaunce. Wherefore men were mustered sufficient for such a voyage, and money was levyed by an imposition or taske, sett as well upon the clergie as laitie, for to support the charge thereof; and so king Henry, under the tuition of Henry the cardinall, transporting out of Englande came first to Roane, and from thence to Paris. All the whole citie came forth to meete him, and with all fortunate signes and shewes of joy and gladnes they saluted him as King, an impe of most excellent towardnes and disposition, though many perchaunce there were, who did all that

H. 6, repaired the cardinal of Winchester into France.

honor with holowe heartes; but so it was to thoutwarde apperaunce, that that day of the kinges arrivall was there celebrated of all men generally with great rejoysing, for the whiche an oration was openly made in prayse of the people, and great plentie of money, corne, and wine was bestowed upon them. After that, the duke of Bedford, assembling the nobilitie, is reported to have saide: "Beholde, my lordes, the course of humane causes; Henry the Vth was to have been your King, as well by right as by league, but he deceassing, in a manner before his full and perfect age, hath lefte a sonne to succeede and enjoye his grandfathers kingdome; he is here amongst us: hither is he brought for that cause, that he may be proclaymed your King, and that both he may knowe his Frenche people, and they likewise him, who are wont principally among all other nations to esteeme, honor, and both faithfully and also carefully obey their King (if I may so say) in the very steede and place of God. And though some there be who take part with Charles, yet the cause thereof appereth to be error and not disloyaltie; wherefore, whosoever will returne and acknowledge his dutie, shalbe pardoned. Therefore it onely resteth that you will with all loyaltie, as you have hithertowardes diligently done, endeavour your selves from henceforth to keepe and conserve the people in obedience, whose dutifulnes in this behalfe shall so well deserve of your King, as that his maiestie will not denay you anything that shalbe for your utilitie and honour; whose thankfull bountifulnes of minde towardes you hereafter you may measure unto your selves according to the rate and proportion of your owne simple and well affected consciences towardes his highnes." Thassemble dissolved, king Henry, being of thage of tenne yeres, was consecrated by Henry the cardinall in the church of our lady mother of God, and the crowne set upon his head, with all due and accustomed ceremonie. After celebration of the divine misterie, the Frenche noble men sware homage to king Henry;

The duke of Bedfords oratione.

H. 6, crownede at Parrys, anno 1432.

after that proclamation was made, that all men should be pardoned who would within a certaine time returne into thobedience of king Henry. This was the yere of our salvation 1432.

While these thinges were a doing at Paris, king Charles recovered, partly by force, and partly by treason, the townes of Melun, Corbole, and sundry others; but otherwhere the event of thinges was otherwise. There was a great garrison of Frenche at Beauvoys, whom Thomas earle of Arundell thought by pollicie to allure into the field: wherefore pighting his tentes afarre off, he layde both footmen and horsemen nigh the towne in a secrete and privie place; after that he sent out some light horsemen, that might provoke thenemy to issue, which horsemen executing his commaundementes, proceeded even to the gates; where finding Frenchemen ready to pursue them, they counterfaited flight, drawing the pursuers within daunger of thambush, who were so intrapped and killed downe right, together with the townesmen, who also folowed the chase, whereof part, hearing the great stirre and noyse of horses, conceaved the traine, and hardlye recovered the towne, the residue were slaine. The number of them who were killed is not mentioned of any author, so far as I knowe, which surely is thought to have beene not small. Also, Richard earle of Warwicke had like fortunate successe about the saide time in a conflict with his enemies at Gorney, where many were killed, and three score *gentlemen* taken. The like force of frowning fortune did Rhenate duke of Barry feele about the same time, who by meane of his puissance had greatly ayded king Charles: for Rhenate, who had an old grudge against Anthony earle of Vaudemont, had gathered togethers great forces, and marched withall to surprise the towne of Vaudemont: of whose approche when the Earle hearde, fearing to be compassed about of his enemy, he lefte the retinewe of souldiers which he had, to furnish the towne, and fledd in poste to the dukes of Bedforde and Burgoigne, whose

Meledunum. Corbolium.

Equites.

part he tooke, requiring them of ayde: and having obteyned the same, he and Anthonye Tolongone, lieftenant of Burgundie, returned againe with a mayne hoste to relieve his people, sharply urged by his enemy. Which when Rhenate understoode, fearing least as soone as the citizens should perceave their duke with succours to approche, that both they should issue out of the towne, and the duke set upon them behinde all at one time; he therefore, forsaking the siege, turned his forces against thenemies that were comming, and commaunded his men to geve the charge. The fight was mainteyned a while amongst the horsemen, who received the first brunt, untill the footmen drewe neere, who entred the battaile with such might and mayne, as that the Frenche was not onely unhable to abide, but were put to flight forthwith. Rhenate was taken with three hundred of his souldiers. There was killed about three thousande. The English had about the same time no lesse oportunitie offered to have atchieved a prosperous adventure in another quarter also, if they had not unwisely omitted the same: for Robert lorde Willoughby, and Mathew Gough, a valiant Walshman, besieged the castle of St. Selerine, by nature of the place very strong, and pressed to take the same by force: on thother side, the garrison within did lustely defende the place, whereof king Charles being advertised, sent to succour his people, in all haste, Ambrose Delore, with divers other captaines. He, because himselfe was captaine thereof, and that the garrison who defended the same were of his placing, as one earnest to ayde his owne, at the first set speedily forward, but soone after doubting to be compassed about, he stayed at Beaumonte, minding there to tarie while the residue of captaines appoynted should come thither also, that from thence they might altogethers proceede against thenemy: but the while of this assemblie, the English men that were at the siege having intelligence by espialls what their enemies did, determined to encounter

Reynat duke of Barry taken.

Bellimonte.

them before thone partie should joyne with thother: and therefore the better part of the campe issuing without any noyse in the deade of the night, founde their enemies campe so evil garded, that about a thousand men were within the trenche or ever any man almost perceaved; but the slaughter in the very trenche made awaked thenemy, who, not suspecting the chaunce, were sodenly striken in such terror and trouble of minde, that no man did effectually assaye to take armour, or to make resistance: but when the day appered thenglish souldiers, seeking after spoyle, did not pursue the chase, but were satisfied with so huge bootie, and busied to cary away the same, whereby beholde it chaunced that the Frenche men who were in marching thitherwarde, hearing the clamour of fighting men, hastened themselves, came upon their enemies unwares, and set couragiously uppon them all laden with spoyle. The residue also of them who fledd, made head againe and returned. The fray was fierce and cruell of both sides, and longe continued in equall balance; but in thende thenglish men, oppressed with multitude, gave grounde. Divers of them were taken, and amongst them Mathew Gough. Many Frenche men were killed, but mo taken, in the number of whom was Ambrose Delore. After that Robert L. Willoughby lefte the siege. Surely a chiefe captaine in warres ought to regard the victory, and nothing els, which is so harde to be gotten, and so easily lost, as that he who supposeth him selfe to have it in his hande, may alwaye be deceaved, and bring himselfe in daunger, before he holde it fast: or whoso hath it may easily with losse foregoe it againe, except he have speciall care of keeping thereof: for example, thenglish men, while as conquerours they sought for spoyle, loste the victorie alreadie gotten.

Mathewe Goughe takene prisoner.

But while these two nations of Englande and Fraunce doo thus fight for superioritie, for soveraintie, yea, for safetie of life itselfe, by reason of such lowse libertie as warres gave throughout the

whole French region, all men were berefte of their riches, holy treasures were spoyled, Christian blood by slaughter or wounding was every where shed, the commonaltie cruelly tormented and punished, matrones were defiled, virgins were rested out of their parentes armes and ravished, townes were taken every day, dayly were they sacked, and the townesmen transported otherwhere, houses and whole streetes were burnt, and finally, no kinde of crueltie could be devised, wherewith the poore Frenche man was not afflicted; I omitt an innumerable kinde of other calamities, wherewithall they were all at once oppressed. To thincrease of all these mischiefes, the common wealth during this time was forced to lye without lawe, (which for the most part is silent in warres,) without all civill government, and justice. Neyther was England exempt cleere from such injuries, for they sawe dayly the death, slaughter, and woundes of their felowes and frendes; their substance was exhaust with continuall exactions; so that the mischiefes were mutuall and common to both sides; the whole occident did ringe with their outcries, the fame of their doleful state was spred through the whole earth, wherefore there was no man living who wondred not with compassion howe these two nations should be able to abide so long charge and affliction: but chiefly of all other, Eugenius the fourth, bisshop of Rome, tooke pitie hereof, who, very desirous to devise some meane whereby this outragious warre might once have ende, sent Nicholas cardinall of the Holy Crosse into Fraunce to make attonement betwixt the two kinges. He, after his comming thither, went first to king Charles, and explained to him his commission from the Pope: from thence he did the like to the duke of Bedforde: he persuaded peace, shewed by demonstration, declared, and by argument well proved the same to be more apperteyning to the dutie of Christian princes then warre, who ought to applye all their travaile for the profite of their people, to mainteyne justice, to rule themselves by reason,

The Bishop of Rome sent his legate to treate of a peace.

alway to remitt somewhat of their rage, to put up part injurie, which thinges warres would not permitt them to doo. The cardinall endevouring to perswade the two princes to be of this minde, they both gave aunswere, that they were readie to yeelde to all reason. But when the matter was dealt in, they were so farre from agreing to any indifferent conditions of peace, as that they remayned more obstinate in their error; which thing when the cardinal conceaved, dispairing to conclude a perpetuall peace, yet because it should not be thought that he had taken all that travaile in vaine, he concluded a truce for six yeres: whereunto as either partie was hardly drawen at the cardinals request, so after his departure they sodenly brake. Some late writers have mentioned, that the Frenche did first violate the same, who everye where set sore impositions and punishmentes by purse uppon such as were frendes to the English or Burgoinion; whereby it came to passe that the malice of their mindes mutually inflamed, the warres beganne againe more sharplye then before; that was the yere of our salvation 1433.

A truse agred upon betweene England and France for 6 years.

1433.

But I will returne againe to king Henry. King Henry, within a fewe dayes after he had bene adorned at Paris with the maiestie of the regall diademe, departed to Roane: where while he tarieth Henry the cardinal was revoked againe into Englande, for pacifying an uprore of certaine moste wicked persons, who, under pretence of embrewing the mindes of men with a newe religion, had conspired to disturbe the quiet government and tranquillitie of the realme. The Cardinall conferred with the duke of Glocester as concerning the state of forreine causes beyonde the sea, and assured him, that, as he thought, the Frenche men would shortly breake the trewce, and therefore, that it were meete to make in readines a supply of men and money necessary for the use of warre, which when the duke of Glocester understoode, he called a parliament, by decree whereof men were mustered, and money ex-

A parliament somoned by

which men and moneye were decreed to be prepared and a peace concluded with Scotland.

acted. During this season, James, king of Scotts sent ambassadours to the duke of Glocester as concerning peace. But because the king was absent, the duke referred that demaunde to the parliament, whereupon, after long debating of the matter, peace was granted, because there was good hope of the continuance thereof, insomuch as the Scottish king was troubled with intestine division, and that there was a trewce taken betweene Englande and Fraunce for sixe yeres. The parliament being dissolved, the Cardinall, with the forces that were gathered, and great store of money that was levyed, returned to the king at Roane. Thither came also the duke of Bedford from Paris to consult what best was to be done. Here the whole matter was referred to councell. Some suspected, that the Frenche men would not keepe and sticke to the condition and covenants of peace, forasmuch as it was apparent, that they almoste all generally were inwardlye incensed with griefe, that Normandie and Paris, and so many goodly townes, were reduced under thenglish empire, and therefore were earnest to persuade that nothing might be remitted pertayning to the warre, least, upon sodaine breache of trewce, they might be compelled with extreme hazarde to take sodaine advise in most weightie causes, all unreadie, both lacking men and money. Againe, this many did affirme, that it was not possible to continue the warre in that order, during so long time of trewce taken, without breache thereof, seing it was a very harde matter to restraine the souldiers hande from evill doing, who should continue dayly in armes for feare of the enemy, and therefore they thought good to fortifie places of most importance with garrison, and to sende the rest of tharmie home againe, during continuance of the trewce. After the matter was thus argued both wayes, the dukes of Bedford, Somersett, and Yorke, allowing upon the former opinion, determined that all thinges expedient for warres should be prepared, that the souldiers should be payde their wages, and that a greater armie shoulde be gathered against all adventures.

Such resolution being made, king Henry returned first to Calis, and from thence into Englande. The duke of Bedforde accompanied the king to Callis, and there made his abode a fewe dayes; when as the while sundrye souldiers, remembring their accustomed martiall libertie, begann to make ravine and spoyle every where, which after that he knewe, having gotten this litle occasion to minister justice, he caused to be apprehended the authours of this wicked attempt, and punished them with great severitie, thereby to terrifie others, that they might the rather refraine from other mens goodes. And so the duke of Bedforde having delivered the towne of most pernitious people, fortified the same with newe supplye, and so journeyed to Paris, when as in the mean time another matter came in his head: for a fewe monthes before he had forgone Anne, his wife, sister to the duke of Burgoigne, by reason of whose death it fell out that the Burgoignians affection was after more easily alienated from the amitie of the Englishe nation, who, as we have before touched, was moved earnestly thereto for other causes; wherefore he determined to mary Jaquet, daughter to Peter of Lucembrowgh, Earle of St. Paule, a very noble man; by reason of which newe affinitie thauncient acquaintance and familiaritie betwixt him and that noble house might be confirmed by more straite and sure bonde of benevolence. And so departing from Callis, he rode towarde Tirwine, where the earles house was, whom the earle interteyned very joyfully, and gave to him in mariage his daughter Jaquet, which was the thing that he demaunded. And so the duke of Bedford having his desire, after most sumptuous and honorable solemnization of mariage, came with his wife to Paris. The duke of Burgoigne took that in evill part, who, being minded to joyne with king Charles, was sory that the duke of Bedforde shoulde nowe be strengthened by affinitie of the auncient and mightie house of Lucembrowghe, which might stande him in great steede every where. About the same time,

H. 6. returnethe into England.

The duke of Bedforde maryed the E. of St. Paulle his daughter.

John Talbote ransomed.

John Talbot, whom we before shewed to have been taken of the Frenche men, at Patay, was raunsomed for a great somme of money, and the restitution to libertie of Ambrose Delore, taken also a fewe monthes before, and so suffered to depart from thenemy, returned into Englande.

While these thinges were done thus in other places, the Frenche souldiers lacking paye, and having amongst them an heape of unthriftes, whom hope of spoyle and delight of warre had withdrawen from husbandrie, and all other dayly exercise of good occupation, begonne first to take prisoners, sometime English men, sometime Burgoignions, as occasion served, and to raunsome them according to their substance: which though it were more unlawful during the truce, yet they feared not to proceede with suche enterprise afterwarde openlye, by reason of which injurye the English men were forced to take weapon in hande againe anone, after sixe monthes next ensewing the making of the trewce, and by this meane was the warre renewed, which the most part generally supposed and much desired to have been ended, or for longer time stayde. But the Frenche trewce breakers without delay armed themselves, and

St. Valery loste to the Frenche.

tooke the towne of St. Valery, scituate in the mouth of the river Some, upon the frontires of Normandie. Another company, under the conduct of Ambrose Delore, made rodes about the same time into the territory of Cane. On thother partie, thenglish men under the duke of Bedforde beseiged with great force the towne of

Latiniacum.

Laigney, standing, as we have before shewed, upon the river of Marne, litle in deede, but environed with mighty trenches and deepe diches, which for because they could not winne at the first assault, they intrenched themselves, and having wonne the bridge, they builded thereupon a towre for defence thereof, and layde to battery on all sides. Againe, the towne manfully defended themselves, yea, and sometime, by conduct of John the bastard of Orleance, who was captaine thereof, they sallyed out, but not without

their owne slaughter. There lay thinglish campe certaine dayes, fighting in this order, when as the duke of Bedforde, forced by matter of more great importance, was withdrawen otherwise: who leaving the siege, returned to Paris, least the citizens who were perversely affected might take occasion by his absence to worke some practise the while against him. Anone after his arrivall there, without any tary, he sent Peter of Lucenbrowghe, his father in lawe earle of St. Paule, and Robert lorde Willoughbie, to recover the towne of St. Valery. They, forasmuche as all mens mindes were inflamed with desire of revenge, marched thither speedily, besieged the towne, and buckled to thassault. The Frenche who were within, after a fewe dayes spent in making resistance, hopelesse finally of any ayde to releeve them, yeelded the towne upon composition safely to depart from thence. Peter of Lucenbrowghe and the lorde Willoughbie, leaving sufficient garrison, returned to the duke of Bedforde conquerours of that exploite; but the towne, whether it were by contagion of corrupt ayre, or els by reason of old unholesome vyande wherewithall the souldier was fedd, beganne to be sore infected with pestilence, to thintent (as I beleeve) that thinfortunate towne, after so manye overthrowes and miseries as they had nowe twise suffered, firste during the siege of the Frenche, and than that of thinglish people, might be plagued also with that deadlye disease. Moreover, a litle before, the Frenche men had invaded the boundes of Burgundie also, taking certaine townes and towres, and some thereof rasing to the very grounde. And while that the Burgoignians labour to recover the same, the duke of Bedforde sent the lorde Willoughbie and Thomas Tirrell, with certaine bandes, to make helpe speedily unto their frendes. They setting forwarde in all haste, after that they were entred the territorie of Laonoys, mett by chaunce with a mayne hoste of enemies, and encountring therewithall, put them to flight, whereof they killed clx, and tooke some, whom they killed afterwarde. Theng-

St. Valerye recovered againe.

Laudunense.

lishe men after this proceeded on their purposed journey, and joyned with the Burgoignions, who, their forces thus united, recovered quickly all the saide places.

The lo. Talbote returnes out of England into France with a great army.

In this meane time, the lord Talbot having mustered a number of able men in Englande, transported into Fraunce with a great armie, and arrived at Roane, where, after he had refresshed his souldiers, he went from thence unto Paris to the duke of Bedforde, whose arrivall, a wonder is to speake, how much it encouraged his owne frendes, and appalled his enemies: for he was accompted an especiall good captaine in the warres, and his approved pollitique government there was woorthely fearfull to the Frenche, and to his owne nation full of assured hope and confidence. This lorde Talbot, after he was directed by the duke of Bedforde as touching his proceedinges and enterprises, marched forward with an hoste well appointed to besiege the towne of Beaumont, which at the first push he wanne by assault; he subdued also the holdes adjoyning with like successe. Amongst these matters the earle of Arundell beseged the castle of St. Selerine, whereof he was conqueror three monthes after that he had laide siege therunto, killing the garrison that was therein. From thence he came before the towne of Silly, the citizens whereof, being in terror by reason of the slaughter lately made at St. Selerines, gave pledges by and by upon promise to deliver the towne within thirtie dayes, except they should be reskewed the meane while by king Charles, and sent forthwith certaine men to king Charles, who, advertised thereof, commaunded Arthure, with certaine ensignes, to goe forthwith to succor the Syllyens. After they did once appere, therle of Arundell rendred to the towne their pledges, and offered the Frenche men battaile in a fitt place for the same not farre from his tentes, which he had chosen out a litle before thapproche of thenemye. Arthure, though he were willing to fight, yet perceaving the Englishmen to have taken such grounde as was not meete for his multi-

Beaumonte is beseged by the lo. Talbote.

St. Sellereene is surprised by the E. of Arundell.

Silly is takene by the E. of Arundelle.

tude, would not advaunce forth against them, but the night folowing, having releeved the towne with part victuall and part garrison, returned from whence he came. After his departure, thearle of Arundell wanne the towne by force, and departed into Normandie spoyling the countrey all the way as he went, and subduing divers castles of Mayne and Angeow. Thither also repaired the lorde Willoughbie, and Thomas Tirell out of Burgundie, conquerours, as we have before remembred, who tooke by the way a very stronge towne called Louviers, and furnished it with garrison.

Louerium. Louviers taken by the E. of Arundelle.

About this time, a huge rowte of rurall Normans, inhabiting upon the sea coast, whether they were thereunto labored by the Frenche men, or that they were desirous of alteration, which the common sorte of people greedily gapeth after, armed themselves, expelled garrisons by force, and tooke certaine holdes, crying out every where, to persecute onely the Englishmen. Hereupon truely may we conceave, that it is more possible for thethiop to chaunge his colour, as the common saying is, then for them who inhabite Fraunce to beare great good will to thenglish nation: for indeede the Normans were subject long to the King of Englande, and well interteyned, who nowe forgetting dutie, but no poynt of envye, were not afeard to ryse against their chiefe lorde and soveraine. This multitude thus stirred up, tooke their way first towarde Cane, that there, increasing in number, they might consult upon the body of the matter. In which meane while the dukes of Soommerset and Yorke, hearing of such uprore of commons, and advised of their proceedinges, sent against them without delay the earle of Arundell and lorde Willoughbie, with six thousand archers, and a thousand three hundred light horsmen, to let and stopp their passage by all meane possible, so that they might not be able eyther to runne and range abrode, neyther yet to goe forwarde. The earle of Arundell, diverting somewhat out of the way,

The Normanes rise in rebellyon against H. 6.

premised the lorde Willoughbie with part of the horsmen and two thousande footmen, to lye in ambushe some where nigh the way, to intrapp the multitude approching; he, as he was commaunded, so placed himselfe secretly, and advertised the earle of the place where the ambush was layde, whereby he might understande when to geve the signe of invading, which when the earle of Arundell knewe, he folowed the rowt behinde, as one driving a hearde of deare into nettes, and after that he perceaved the retchlesse multitude draw nigh to thambush he made a signe incontinent, whereupon the lord Willoughbie gave charge on them before and himselfe behinde, all at once; with which sodaine accident the ruralls, all agast, helde up their handes, and casting away both weapon and armor, prayed to spare their lives; with whose piteous prayers, the earle of Arundell, moved to compassion, caused the souldiers to cease from bloudshed, and taking them specially whom he supposed to have been practisers of that comotion, suffered the residue to depart safe home; but yet there was a thousand men killed even at the first encounter, before the souldiers could be reduced againe unto their ensignes. So this stirre appeased, and so great rage by good rule and government forthwith restrained, there were strait inquisitions thereof made, and all that were giltie were condemned and put to death. In the meane time, the Frenche men, under the conduct of Peter of Rokeforde, tooke from thenemy Diep and some other townes of small strength. But the earle of Arundell, after so many notable and honorable exploites, not longe after assayed one other, which was his last attempt that ever he made. The castle of Gerbory, in Beauvois, was scituate upon a place of great strength, but whether it were by force of man, or by antiquitie of time, it was nowe almost levell with the grounde. Because this place stoode very aptly to expell the sodaine incursion of thenemy, king Charles had geven Stephen Hyre in charge to repaire the saide castle, which when the

The Normans yeld and submit themselves.

Deepe and some other townes lost to the Frenche.

earle of Arundell understoode, by and by he came out of Normandy into Beauvoys with too slender force of men to interrupt and let the building thereof. The Frenche men stirred with the sodaine approche of thenemy, left the place to the workmen, and arming themselves in haste issued forth. They gave a sore charge upon the English men approching, who abode and bare it out a while; but when the earle of Arundell fell from his horse sore wounded, then casting themselves in a triangle, and omitting somewhat the fight, they were forced to retire. The earle of Arundell, thus wounded, dyed not long after, a man of singular virtue, constancie, and gravitie, whose death in so tempestuous tormoiles exceedinglye appalled the courage of his nation. But the Frenche men, after the departure of thenemy, made an ende of the worke which they had begonne. The death of Thomas earle of Arundell chaunced in the year of our salvation 1434, and the twelfth yere of king Henries reigne.

The E. of Arundell wounded to deathe and died in Beauvoys.

1434, the 12 of H. 6.

The very selfsame yere the towne of St. Denis was twise taken, once of the Frenche men by treason, and againe of thenglish by yeelding. Also Corbelle, Vicenes, and Meulane were brought under the subjection of Fraunce; for townes which for the most part were voyde of walles laye so open to the spoyle, that thinhabitantes, who were able to performe nothing by constant obedience, did alway yeelde to the first assailants, as ofte as the garrisons there placed would permitt them so to doo, least they should otherwise suffer thextremitie. Whereby it came to passe that nothing was fuller of troubles than Fraunce, nothing more subject to spoyle, nothing more beggerly. Neyther was the souldier in much better case, who, though he were gladd of spoyle, yet was he killed every where, during the while that eyther King laboured to keepe the chiefe cities of his faction in obedience. Wherefore, the people of eyther partie begann now to wery with bloudshed; now was so many discommodities done, by both sides, that every

St. Denis twise takene.

Vicencias.

man generally did lament himselfe to be thus oppressed, tormented, and utterly destroyed; every man was vexed with most deepe dolor, every man afflicted and muche broken with sorrowe; wherefore those who were of most perverse and obstinate disposition were thereby inclined to peace. Hereunto also they were urged by want of all thinges; for the fieldes lay every where wasted and untilled, the principall cause whereof was, because men were compelled for savegarde of life not to ere the grounde, but of necessitie to serve in warres. And so, constrained thereto by manyfolde mischiefes, neyther partie was unwilling of peace; but thone thought it dishonorable eyther to demaunde it of thother, or yet to yeelde thereunto. Wherefore it was needfull that Eugenius the pope should be the author and arbiter of so great an attonement, who finally might by his authoritie, counsell, and perswasion, wrest out the wepons from the handes of these most invincible conquerours, and of other warriers who never would cause sounde the retraite, never would heare of abstinence; which saide Bisshop was broughte in good hope of pacification, especially for because the fame was, that Phillip duke of Burgoigne grewe wery of that he had done; for he at the beginning, desirous as well to revenge his fathers death as to mainteyne his owne preheminence and dignitie, shewed to the English nation all the frendshipp he could, not supposing that he should, by reason of this league with the king of Englande, be constrained to offende against the common wealth, which he ruled as then at his owne direction and pleasure, neyther that he should depart from that preheminence, so longe as he should agree with Englande; but when it fell out afterwarde otherwise then he had weened, forasmuch as the king of Englande used nowe the government by right of inheritance, and challenged all sutes, lawes, peace, and warres, to be in his power, whereof the duke had had a litle before good experience, when in the treatie for geving up of Orleance

the same was denyed to be yeelded in his name; then lastly he determined to returne into the way from which he had strayed, and both to stand and holde with his owne nation, as soone as he might have any honest pretence so to doo, whereby he should not be reported to intangle himselfe with newe perillous practises, nor to contribute any such against thenglish people. Wherfore Eugenius, the Romane Bisshopp, having intelligence that all men were thus generally affected, made as it were an assured accompt of peace, and sent as soone as might be Nicholas the cardinall againe into Fraunce, who anon upon his comming thither, appoynted the meeting to be at the towne of Arras, whither came ambassadours from king Henry; Henry cardinal of Winchester, and Henry archbisshopp of Yorke, William earle of Suffolke, and John earle of Huntington, as chiefe in commission concerning that treatie. Also the French ambassadours; the archbisshop of Rhemes, the duke of Burbon, Arthure earle of Richmonde, and divers other gentlemen of woorshipp. The Burgoignion also sent his ambassadours; the bisshops of Liege, Cambray, and Arras, with many other woorthie personnages of honorable estimation. In this great assemble, after muche reasoning, Nicholas the cardinall, a man of an approved judgement, was made by all their consentes umpire in the cause. He againe required every mans opinion, to thende he might judge uprightly. The English ambassadours demanded that the Frenche king might be declared to holde of the king of England. Againe, the Frenche of thother faction would have the kingdome of Fraunce free, and not to holde of any other. Nicholas, esteeming it no time then to geve judgement as concerning the title and right of the crowne of Fraunce, proponed openly suche lawes of league as for the present state of thinges he adjudged indifferent for both parties. But both parties refused them. And so, without any conclusion in the matter they came for, thassemblie departed. But thereby grewe that the Bur-

Ad urbem Atrebatium.

A treatye at Arras.

goignions and Frenchemen begonne to treate of trewce, and to talke of peace betwixt them twaine; which Phillipp himselfe, duke of Burgoigne, had, for many causes before mencioned, desired in his heart longe before. And so peace was concluded upon these maner of condicions: that king Charles should depart from, unto
Perona. the duke of Burgoigne, the townes of Amiens, Corbie, Perone, St. Quintines, Abbevile, and the counties of Artois, Pontieu, and
Bononi. Bullonnoys, besides sundry other places adjoyning upon Burgundie, which had been of the dominion of his auncestours. Many other thinges promised the Frenche king, which he could not afterward performe; for he durst not denye the Burgoignion any his demaundes, as one who thought himselfe forthwith fortunate if with such an adversary he might be able to conclude a peace, though not honorable, and as he would desire, yet necessary, and in respect of the present state very commodious, which was to his great advauntage after, as he conceaved even then that it would prove. Moreover, when as they chaunced to meete within fewe dayes after, it is reported that king Charles did salute the duke in this sort: 'I wish you good fortune also, nowe finally at the last I finde myselfe voyde of feare, and delivered from great cares, for that you, the mightiest prince in Fraunce, next to the king, and of all other men in that nation best accompted, are returned againe to your countrey, according to our desire; for this saying of the Gospell was fixed ever in my minde: Every kingdome devided against itselfe shalbe destroyed. O Lorde, howe much was I affearde, least that should have happened by our dissension. But nowe the matter is safe, when you will joyne with me in carefulnes to repell thenglish men, our common enemies, with all diligence out of Fraunce, and that care you will have, as I trust. Assure yourselfe I am readie to shewe you any honorable pleasure that I can.' Hereunto the Burgoignion aunswered, that he would indevor himselfe not to fayl of his dutie in any poynt.

When the league was made, the Burgoignion made more haste of nothing then speedily to dispatche ambassadours to king Henry into Englande, to let him understand that he was wery with that longe warres, and the dayly complaintes of his subjectes, which from day to day receaved greater and greater damage of the Frenche, who lamented and openly complained, that he was the onely man who releeved, enforced, and armed the English nation against his owne countrey, and that was more carefull to retayne them in the lande of Fraunce, then to restore king Charles, his cousin of bloud. Finally, that he was constrained to make peace with king Charles; and, forasmuch as king Charles offered very indifferent and honorable conditions of peace, therefore he willed them to exhort king Henry in his name to agree to that league. But indeede the Burgoignon, whose owne conscience accused him of woorthie and notable reproche, sent that ambassage, rather to avoyde blame, to thende that thereby he might wipe away the note of that fowle fact, because he was reported tretcherously and traiterously to have revolted from thamitie of Englande, then that he desired greatly in heart any good to thenglish affaires: when thambassage was hearde, all men there present were so kindled with the shamefulnes of such dealing, as that they could not holde in their anger, nor moderate themselves therein, nor yet refraine from speech, but called the Burgonion a traitor, a false and craftie man. But after that this breache of league and fidelitie was bruted abrode, they proceeded from brawling to blowes; for the commonaltie, stirred togethers by reason of this unthankfull message, beganne so farre forth furiously to invade all kinde of Flemminges then being in London, as that many were wounded, many killed, before the multitude could, by open proclamation, be appeased. The kinges gratious goodnes was willing that his subjectes should refraine from shedding of innocent bloud, and himselfe the meane while aunswered thambassadours, that they should admonish the

The duke of Burgundie sent ambassadors to H. 6. to treate of peace betweene H 6. & the kinge of France.

A great tumult raised in London against the Flemings for the falshod of the duke of Burgundie.

H. 6. his answer to the Burgoyne ambassadores.

duke from him, not to become enemy to thenglish people without cause, but rather with reverence to continue olde amitie, which better was then newe warres, and that he should not be so unadvised as to chaunge certainties for uncertainties; therfore he would wish him take good heede, least otherwise he should intermingle the florishing state of his dominions with the causes of king Charles almost desperate, and so should rashly revolt from prosperitie to adversitie. With this aunswere thambassadours were dismissed; but in the meane time king Henry determined to make the duke some such busines, as that entangled therewithall he shoulde the lesse be able with his forces to ayde the Frenche king. And therfore he sent forthwith secret messengers into Flaunders, to stirre up with money the heades men of cities to innovations, whereunto they were wont of their owne naturall disposition to be much inclined. The messengers did their devoir, and, for olde acquaintance sake, first assayed the Gantays, but they nothing prevailed, for those people sawe apparently that the forreine affayres of England would dayly decay. These thinges were done in the yere of our salvation 1435, which yere was famous by the death of John duke of Bedforde, an exceeding good man in time of peace, and in warres most valiant, who dyed of sicknes at Paris in the woorst time that could be for the common wealth. His corps was caried to Roane, and buried in the chiefe churche there.

1435. John duke of Bedforde died, and buryed at Roane.

After the duke of Bedforde, being regent of Fraunce, was dead, all thinges fell to nought, so as it might well appere that they lacked a Regent, for then the Frenche people, almoste voyde of fere, enterprised, not onely to revolt, but openly to take armes against thenglish. And so even at that instant chaunced great alteration of thenglish affaires. Howbeit thenglish men did not faint and geve over their cause, but by generall assent committed the chiefe and principall government to Edmonde duke of Sommersett and

Richard duke of Yorke, in which two all their whole hope was reposed. They sent forthwith Robert lord Willoughbie, to Paris, for succor and ayde of the towne: but king Charles, advaunced with such fortunate successe, after his forces were augmented by ayde of men from the duke of Burgoigne, sent Arthure, admirall of Fraunce, with a good part of his armie to besiege St. Denises, hoping verily after the gayning of that towne to bring in subjection Paris also: Arthure did as he was commaunded, he marched speedily to St. Denises, and within fewe dayes tooke it by force; after which attempt happily atchieved, he proceeded to Paris, of whose comming, after that the citizens understoode, supposing the time to be nowe come when as they might safely revolt, they set sodenlye with great furie upon thenglish people, and all at once, as well men pursued them with weapon through streetes and crosse wayes as women from windowes and batelmentes of their houses cast downe stones and hott water upon their heades. Robert lorde Willoughbie was within with garrison, as is before shewed, who, contending awhile to appease thenvyous people, when he sawe himselfe not able to withstande, fled into the towre, which is right over against the church of St. Anthony. In the meane time Arthure, perceaving an uprore to be through the whole towne, approched the gates, and finding them set wide open very early in the morning by the citizens, entered, and by and by assayed to assault forceably the place which thenglish men helde, who defended themselves a fewe dayes valiantly, because they hoped uppon reliefe from the dukes of Sommersett and Yorke. But the dukes made them no helpe, not knowing that they had drawen themselves to that streight, by reason that thenemy so occupied and kept all passages, as that they could have no certaine intelligence: for the rumor of revolt was so vehement, as that they thought verily the lord Willoughbie, with all the garrison, eyther taken or in so huge tumult and rage of people to be slaine. Wher-

The dukes of Somerset and Yorke made Regentes of France.

St. Denes taken by the Frenche, the Parishanes mutinied against the Englishe and submytted Paris to the kinge of France.

fore the lorde Willoughbie, hopelesse in the ende of ayde, yeelded the place by composition, and repaired with his men safe to Roane. And so Paris, the chiefe and principall citie in all Fraunce, was recovered againe by the Frenche, fifteen yeres after it had been brought in subjection of thenglish nation, which was the yere of
1436. our salvation 1436.

After the losse of Paris was divulged abrode through Fraunce, then generally almost all thenglish people utterly forsooke the townes beyonde the seas; they thought, esteemed, and assured themselves to have from thenceforth no certaine place of refuge in any thereof; no further courage, no policie, nor any sufficient force of armie; which opinion surely, amongst all other men tooke first place in the minde of Phillipp duke of Burgoigne: for that he at that time, muche moved that king Henry had a little before labored the Gantoys and other Flemminges to rebellion, marched forth with a huge and perillous armie to waste and spoyle thenglish boundes. He came to Callis, he besieged it, and with all his forces assayed to winne it, and at the same time, deviding his armie, gave assault to Guynes, a towne adjoyning: but the townesmen fortified against thenemy, not onely with munition and men, but much more by nature of the place, defended themselves with great magnanimitie, which thinges when the Burgoignion understoode, esteeming that he must goe another way to worke for the compelling of them to yeeld then he had begoon withall, drove this onely drifte, to debarre them of all victuall and supplye, whereby he should by famine force them to yeelde: and so placing his souldiers all over in stacions, he occupied the whole shore: he beatt them with goonn, dart, and arrowe, day and night, that not a man durst peepe over the wall to annoy his enemy, or yet to make defence. While as the Burgoignion continued the siege in this sort, the duke of Glocester, with an armie furnished in all poyntes, made haste out of Englande to succour his people. When the duke of Burgoigne hearde of

Callis besieged by the duke of Burgoyne.

his terrible approche, and that he lay upon thother shore awayting the winde to transport, he was past hope of gayning the towne: and so in the dead of the night, forsaking the siege, drewe homewarde. The duke of Glocester was at Callis well early in the morning, and issuing to the tentes of his enemies, gott great praye: for they, fearfully forsaking their stations, had lefte part of their cariages of fine force. Afterwarde with armie well arrayed he proceeded to spoyle the confynes of his enemy, and entering thereunto he wasted all thinges with sworde and fire; he tooke every where great bootie, and he did not onely destroye the fieldes, but set fire also upon castle and towne. Thus allured with spoyle, he marched further forwarde, and with light assault he annoyed townes, into the which the rurall people were gathered for feare. So finally raging even unto St. Omers without any encounter, he returned with great bootie, first to Callis, and from thence into Englande. After these thinges there was, by persuasion of frendes, a treuce treated betwixt king Henry and the duke of Burgoigne for a fewe yeres: which were in the ende concluded with the wife which Phillipp had the same time, for he had three; and of the last called Isabell he begott and lefte behinde him his sonne Charles. All thinges afterwarde betweene the king of England and the Burgoigne were (by report) done in her name: which may be thought to have been done, for that neyther it shoulde be saide that the king of Englande did beleeve the Burgoignion, whom he had approved not long before to be disloyall, nor that the Frenche king should have any cause to conceave suspition when he should understande that the trewce was taken not with the duke but with his wife, which her husbande was bounde by no lawe to observe.

The duke of Burgoyne hearinge of the duke of Glosteres arrivall at Callis raised his seege.

The duke of Glostere returneth in to Englande.

A truce concluded betwene H. 6. and the duke of Burgoyne, yet in his wyves name it went.

During that time, dyed Henry archbisshop of Yorke, unto whom succeeded John Chemp, in order of bishopps the fiftie. About that time also dyed Katherine, king Henryes mother, who

The deathe of Henry, archebusshop of Yorke.

Katherine H. 6. mother died at this tyme.

was interred at Westminster, in the sepulchre of her predecessors. This woman, after the death of her husband, king Henry the Fifth, being but yonge in yeres, and thereby of lesse discretion to judge what was decent for her estate, married one Owen Tyder, a gentleman of Wales, adorned with wonderfull giftes of body and minde, who derived his pedigree from Cadwallider, the last king of Brittons, of whom she conceaved and brought forth three sonnes, Edmonde, Jaspar, and the thirde, who was a monke of the order of St. Benet, and lived not longe after, and one daughter, who was made a noonne. Afterwarde kinge Henry made Edmond earle of Richmonde, and Jaspar earle of Pembroke, because they were his brothers on his mothers side. After the death of queene Katherine, the saide Owen was twice committed to warde by the duke of Glocester, because he had been so presumptuous as by marriage with the younge Queene to intermixe his bloudd with the noble rase of kinges, and in the ende was beheaded. This Edmonde, earle of Richmonde, begott of Margarete, daughter unto the duke of Sommersett, a sonne called Henry, who, as otherwhere in place convenient shalbe declared obteyning the kingdome, was nominated king Henry the Seventh. The very selfsame time Richard earle of Warwick dyed at Roane, his body was brought into Englande, and buried in a newe churche at Warwicke: also James, king of Scottes, intermaried with king Charles by placing his daughter Margarete to Lewes, the saide Charles his sonne, and so king James, forgetfull of the league which he had made a fewe yeres before with king Henry, as opportunie served, mustered out a newe supplye of men to goe to his armie, which lay as yet at Carleil, and was withall aboutward to make warre of Englande, when as he was sodenly taken by the way; for Gualter, his uncle, earle of Atholl, a factious man, and that aspired to the kingdom, made a conspiracie with certaine desperate rebelles, and caused the king to be killed upon the sodaine at St. Johnston, which was

Owen Tether married Katherine the widow of H. 5. and had by her 3 sonns.

Two earles created.

Owene Tedere behedded.

Henry earle of Richmond borne.

Richard E. of Warwick diethe.

Lewes the Kinge of Fraunce his sonne marryethe the Kynge of Scottes daughter.

The Kinge of Scottes slayne by conspyracye.

which was no hurt to Englande: for, seeing that king James was a passing valiant man, thoccasion serving, as chaunced afterwarde, he would undoubtedly have scourged England cruelly during the factious stirre and division betwixt king Henry and Edwarde. James, his sonne, the second of that name, succeeded his father, who, even from the beginning entangled with civill sedition, was rather offensive to his owne people then to thenglish, which we will speake of at large and more aptly afterwarde. Nowe was come the seventeene yere of king Henries reigne, which was of our salvation the 1439, when at Westminster, besides London, a parliament was called, for the right and fitt establishment of thinges concerning as well civill government at home, as the warres abrode, in which parliament was argued, provided for, and enacted many thinges necessary for the warres, and no small number of such statutes as were requisite for the state of the common wealth: amongst which this was one, that it should not be lawfull for merchauntes straungers to sell their merchaundises brought into the realme to any other then Englishmen, to thende they should not thereby engrosse and gather into their handes thonely trade thereof, which lawe is observed at this day as very commodious for the commonwealth.

1439. A parliamente at Westminster.

Marchant strangeres prohibited to sell to any heare but Englishemen.

In the meane time king Charles, after he had brought in subjection Paris, and many other places within two yeres before, nowe was he in full hope easily to recover Normandie; for from thence he had intelligence that the countrey was geven somewhat to sedition, wherefore he sent Arthure admirall of Fraunce, and with him John duke of Alanson, with a mightie armie into Normandie. They with great speede came to Avranches, and besieged it forthwith. That towne is situate upon an hill in that coast of the country which butteth upon the British ocean, fortified with high walles, and parfytely well manned. When thenemy had continued siege before the towne a longe time, beholde, upon the sodeine,

John lorde Talbot, and Thomas earle of Dorchester, with an armie well appoynted, came and encamped themselves as neere the enemies as could be, meaning to provoke them to battaile. The Frenche were so farre from taking that offer, as that they fortified and kept themselves more straightlye within their trenches, which when thenglishmen understoode, removing from thence about a mile and better, they choose out a place not very commodious for themselves to fight in, thereby to make their enemies lesse afearde. But when they could not allure the Frenche to the fielde by that meane neyther, they tooke up their tentes, and in the view of thenemy entered Avranches; from thence they issued, and perceaving the French without feare to be scattered more lously abrode, put them to flight, and the passages being debarred they mett with many, whom they slewe in the encounter. At the same time another hoste of Frenche men, running rashly a forowe, even to the walles of Roane, were discomfited by Thomas Tirrell. Emongst these matters, when as king Charles, notwithstanding so many overthrowes, litle doubted that it was possible to interrupt the prosperous course of his proceedinges, yea, dayly looked for better successe, beholde, an huge storme hanging over his head, so miserable, so wicked, and so fowle, as the woorse thereof could not chaunce. For Lewes, king Charles sonne, a yonge man of monstrous disposition and frowarde condition, seeking soveraintie before his time, conspired with such like as himselfe against his father; the heades of which faction were John duke of Alanson, and another John, who not many yeres before had succeeded to Lewes his father, both dukes of Burbon; and gathering an armie, tooke upon him the government of the realme, to rule all thinges, not according to his fathers direction, but after his owne fantasie; which thing when king Charles knewe, though he were wrapped in wonderfull dolours, exclaiming that he was borne to miserie, for that, as though it had beene but a small matter to

Lewes Dolphin of France conspired against king Charles his father.

have fought, thus, many yeres within his owne native soile, with straungers, with his owne subjectes for defence of his royall state and dignitie, he should nowe also be forced to fight for soveraintie with his owne sonne. Yet, being a man of readie witt and great courage, as one acquainted with adversitie, he was not utterly dismayed; but supposing it best to stay the beginning, before any violence should be used against him, he called togethers his trustie noblemen and councellers, he deliberated with them howe to shoonn so great a daunger. The better part thought that it was not to be avoyded with warres, but with good councell and lenitie. Wherefore, first of all, letters were sent in the name of king Charles every waye to the cities, straitly charging and commaunding that no man should geve eare to his sonnes commaundement; then was pardon promised to all the conspiratours; lastly, grave and wise noble men dealt earnestly with Lewes and the dukes for reconciliation of peace; and gave plaine demonstration, that to contende nowe for the crowne in suche time as was never more troublesome, was nothing else but utterly to overthrow their countrey, which by forreyne enemies was almost destroyed alreadie. By this pollicie and persuasions, it came to passe that the conspiratours layde armor aside, and were receaved anon into the kinges favor. And so this pernitious enterprise, which was like to have overturned the whole state of the common wealth, was stayed before ever it was put in practise.

The Dolfyne submytted to his father.

Thenglish men hearing the while of this civill discorde in Fraunce, renewed the warre with greater courage, and, having recovered a few fortes before lost in Normandie, were nowe making haste to besiege Paris, when, as besides report of reconciliation betweene Lewes and his father, newes were also brought that king Charles was gone to besiege Ponthoyse. John lorde Clifforde, a notable expert man of warre, defended the same with a great garrison of souldiers, whereof when intelligence was had, the duke

The kinge of France atempted the wynyng of Ponthoyse.

of Yorke and the lorde Talbott, with a maine hoste of choise souldiers, marched thither, and, pighting their tentes nigh unto their enemies, offered the battaile; but king Charles, trusting to dispatch the matter without fight or hazarde, refused the fielde, and, leaving part of his army to continue the siege, removed his campe; whereof intelligence had, the duke of Yorke was also advertised that the garrison within the towne was of force sufficient to defende itselfe, and supposing, therefore, that it should not be needfull for him to rest there any longer, purseweth thenemy, and sendeth before the lorde Talbot with horsemen to espye a place where he might by anye meane allure the king to battaile; but the king could not be drawen thereunto in that place neyther; and so the duke with great spoyle returned to Roane. Emongst these great troubles of warre, there was, by meane of letters sent from the pope to and fro oftentimes to both the kinges, another treatie of peace dealt in at Callis by ambassadours of both sides, which when it could not be concluded upon, the matter was referred to another time. About that time was Charles duke of Orleance brought to Callis to be the chiefe maker of that peace, who dealing like an honourable good man, when there was no fault in him to the hynderance thereof, was at the last lett home, twenty-six yere after that he had been taken in the battaile of Agincourt. He was all that while deteyned captive because he was not able to paye his raunsome, and yet in the ende was not delivered without money neither. In the beginning of the yere folowing, the dukes of Yorke and Sommersett, who wanted no good will, spared no travaile, nor were negligent in any poynt touching their charge, conferring togethers about the warres, resolved that best was to invade in divers places, to thintent that when thenemie should be urged to make head against every particular invader, the force of the warres should be layde off from the boundes of Normandie (for the which they were afearde) unto

A treatye of peace at Calys, but not effected.

The duke of Orleance released out of prison, wheare he had contynued 26 yeares.

such time as some happy event might alter the present countenance of frowning fortune; which device truely, considering the time, was allowed of all the residue as very provident. And so in the beginning of the springe Robert lorde Willoughbie was commaunded with a great crewe of souldiers to spoyle the territorie about Amiens. Also John lorde Talbot was sent with another companie to besiege Diep. Themselves the meane time prepared to destroye the boundes of Anjow. When the lorde Willoughbie came unto the borders of Amiens, because there should no signe of invasion appere, which is chiefly understoude by raising of fire, he therefore forbadd the burning of villages, whereby it chaunced that the horsmen came upon the pesantes, fearing nothing, before ever they could flye into townes, and killed of them many thowsands. The Frenche garrison, who lay in the holdes adjoyning, assembled upon thalarme made by reason of the great noyse of rurall people, and set forwarde to encounter thenemy: they joyned battaile, and the same was for a while mutually mainteyned with great courage; but at the last the Frenche force, daunted with the death of their felowes that gave the first charge, turned the backe, whereof part were killed in the flight by thenglish men, part spoyled in the way by thearle of Saint Paule, who ayded thenglish. More then six hundred souldiers of Fraunce were killed with the sworde in that conflict. And so the lorde Willoughbie, loden with huge praye, returned after this fortunate exploite into Normandie. Also the duke of Sommersett drove away great bootie from the cities of Britaine. During which season the lorde Talbot mightily besieged Diepe, where was dayly skirmishing on both sides; he pight his tentes upon an hill, and made generall thereof William Poyntes, a carefull man of his charge; himselfe defended certaine bastiles. Nowe was the siege prolonged a great while, when in fine king Charles sent, to releeve the towne, Lewes his sonne with a maine armie. He anon upon his arrivall there tooke on hande

The lo. Talbotte beseeged Deepe.

to assault the bastiles, where was a cruell conflict. At the first ioncke many fell on both sides, and many also were sore wounded; every man ranne to and fro for his advauntage, removing thensignes hither and thither; thone laboured to holde thother straite within the bastiles, thother to repulse and keepe afarre off thenemy. At the last they came to hand strokes; then was about the bastiles a sore fight; but in thende thenglish men being expelled, withdrewe themselves into the campe, and so, out of hope to gayne the towne, they raysed the siege, and retired to Roane.

Thenglishe put the kinge of Fraunce to the repulse from St. Selerines.

In this meane time, king Charles assailing by force the towne of St. Selerine, was there of thenglish powere put to repulse. While this stirre was abrode otherwhere, Phillipp duke of Burgoigne made warre to Peter of Lucenbrowgh, earle of St. Paule, because he yet stood and helde of thenglish partie, whom the duke easily overcame, and caused, contrary to his fayth and promise geaven unto the duke of Bedforde, to joyne with king Charles, which affeebled no litle the force of Englande. Nowe forasmuch as during this time the English affaires were nothing iocunde, and the French successe also brought unto themselves slaughter, mayh^me, and many mischiefs, there was yet another treatie of peace betwixt the two kinges, which, when it could not be concluded, a trewce onely was taken for eightene monthes. Thus the rage of warre ceased for a while, and king Henry tooke to wife Margarete, daughter to Rhenate duke of Anjow and king of Sicily, a yonge lady exceeding others of her time, as well in beautie as wisedome, endeued with an hault courage above the nature of her sexe, according as her noble actes (whereof we will treate in place convenient) have manifestly declared. During this season also certaine English captaines returned into Englande, desirous to see their countrey, children, and wives, and also for the preparing of newe supplye to fill upp the bandes of their olde armie. And so

A truce concluded for 18 monthes betwene England and France.

H. 6. maryed Margaret da. to the duke of Anjou and kinge of Sicily.

A parleament somoned.

not longe after kinge Henry held a parliament, wherein many and divers consultations were had as concerning preparation for warres, which in the ende every man thought meete to be foreseene, insomuch it was apparent that the Frenche king was wholly bent, immediately after the trewce ended, to renewe the same, wherefore it was enacted, that money should be levied, and souldiers mustered: but the meane while to gratifie the people, a priviledge was graunted, that when a quarter (which is a kinde of measure) of wheate is solde for 6*s.* 8*d.*, rye for fowre, barley for three, and not above, that it should be lawfull for every man to bye and transport those graines beyond the seas, so that it were not to the kinges enemies. This Act was afterwards confirmed by king Edwarde the Fourth as profitable for the common wealth.

An Acte for transportynge of corne.

These thinges thus ordered, such provision was made for the establishment of the realme as that it might appere the king from thenceforth would have more care for the common utilitie then for any one mans profite. Lastly, it was enacted, that certaine noblemen should be exalted in honor at the kinges pleasure, whom I finde to have been Humfrey Stafforde, and Henry, sonne of Richarde, of whose ende we have before remembred, earles of Warwicke, whereof thone remayned earle of Warwicke, thother was created duke of Buckingham; also Thomas earle of Dorchester, and William earle of Suffolke were both twaine made marquises: but William not long after was created duke. Also John earle of Huntington was made duke of Exeter. I finde moreover, that John lorde Talbot, who had so well deserved of his countrey, was made earle of Shrewsbury. In that assemble the duke of Gloucester, foreseing within himself that in continuance there would be alteration of thinges which would appall the courage of men very much, made a long oration, persuading all men to endevour themselves dutifully for defence of the common wealth, because he knewe assuredly that thenemies sought time and oportunitie to beguile and deceave, wherefore he thought it not meete to tary unto thende of the

Creatyon of earles.

An oratyon made by the duke of Glostere.

trewce shoulde approche. These thinges did the duke instill into the heades of thaudience, rather to suppresse the presumptuous boldnes of some, whom I suppose he conjectured would incessantly seeke his death, then for that he mistrusted the Frenche fidelitie, who, weried with continuall bloudshed, were as loth a good while before as thenglish men were to have the like any longer. But good councell could not profite perverse and wicked
1445. mindes. This was the yere of our salvation 1445; in the which
Henry Cheecheley died. Henry Chicheley, archbisshop of Canterbury dyed, xxix. yeres after he had sitt in that see. This sage father, perceaving well that the dispositions of men were by learning principally holpen to attaine unto, and reverentlye embrace vertue, had more care of nothing then to procure that his countrymen of Englande might become learned; wherefore he builded two colledges at Oxforde, wherein he placed two companies of schollers studious of learning, and gave possessions for the reliefe of them that should applye learning;
All Souls and St. Bernards college in Oxford erected by Henry Chicheley. thone whereof was dedicate to the memorie of All Soules, thother to St. Bernard; as two sure pillers of all vertues, the exercise whereof is at this day fervently frequented in these two houses, insomuch that neyther labour nor expence of the founder hath been spent in vaine. To this Henry succeeded John Stafforde, in order of bisshops the three score and one. But let us come to the civill dissensions.

Civil discention grewe in England. While that the trewce continued, though there lacked nothing at home for the which men needed to be continually carefull in minde, yet, by meane of a woman, sprange up a newe mischiefe that sett all out of order. King Henry was a man of milde and
The authores comendacione of K. H. 6 plaine-dealing disposition, who preferred peace before warres, quietnes before troubles, honestie before utilitie, and leysure before busines; and, to be short, there was not in this world a more pure, more honest, and more holye creeture. There was in him honest shamfastnes, modestie, innocencie, and perfect patience, taking all humane chances, miseries, and all afflictions of this life in so good

part as though he had justly by some his offence deserved the same. He ruled his owne affections, that he might more easily rule his owne subjectes; he gaped not after riches, nor thirsted for honor and worldly estimation, but was carefull onely for his soules health; such thinges as tended to the salvation thereof he onely esteemed for good; and that very wisely; such againe as procured the losse thereof he only accompted evill. On thother side, Margaret his wife, a woman of sufficient forecast, very desirous of renowne, full of policie, councell, comely behaviour, and all manly qualities, in whom appeared great witt, great diligence, great heede, and carefulnes: but she was of the kinde of other women, who commonly are much geven and very readie to mutabilitie and chaunge. This woman when she perceaved the king her husbande to doo nothing of his owne head but to rule wholly by the duke of Glocesters advise, and that himself tooke no great heede nor thought as concerning the government, determined to take upon her that charge, and by litle and litle to deprive the duke of that great authoritie which he had; least she also might be reported to have litle witt, who would suffer her husbande being now of perfect yeres to be under another mans government. And so this Margarete labored soone after to bring to passe that which she had purposed. But after that this woman had once enterprised the matter of her owne will and disposition, there were forthwith a companye readie to sedition, prompt to use violence, and very meete to make mischiefe and slaughter; who, seeking to stirre upp envie againste the duke of Glocester, did urge forwarde, exhort, and perswade her, to looke into the revenewes of the Crowne, to call for an accompt thereof, and so should she well understande that the duke had used the same, not for the common wealth, but for his owne private commoditie. The king of Sicile also did no litle egge on his daughter Margarete, that she and her husbande should assume the government. With these persuasions the queene incensed, taketh on hande with her

Queen Margarets ambytion towards the duke of Glosters governement.

The duke of Glosters doinges looked into.

husband king Henry to rule the realme. And though the same could be accompted nothing els but (as the olde proverbe is) to till the grounde with an oxe and an asse, yet did she with great haultines undergo that charge, who firste of all other thinges did not onely cleere sequestre the duke of Glocester from dealing in publike affaires, but also afterwarde thought him unworthie to be protected from thinjurye of his enemyes: for not longe after divers noble men conspired against the duke, and appeached him of sundry criminall offences, but principally for that he had caused certaine condemned persons to be executed more greevously then the lawe of Englande appoynted: for the duke being a severe man, because he was skillfull in the lawe which is called civill, and caused malefactors to be sharply corrected, procured thereby against himselfe the hatred of ungratious people, who feared due punishment for their mischievous and naughtie factes. What shall we say, that even at this day the common lawyers, when their pleasure is to find some detestable fault with the civill lawe, which the more they be ignorant of in that the more they hate it, bring forth this example of severitie, as though sharpe punishment of offenders stoode not with the profite of the common wealthe, and as though greater fault did not require greater torment. Notwithstanding that the duke answered such matters as were laide against him with great commendation, yet, because his death was alreadie determined, he nothing helped his cause, saving that he was somewhat lesse greeved in minde, when as hearby it fell out that he neyther knewe of his condemnation nor prefixed time of death: for the conspiratours were affeared least it should cause some uprore amongst the people, if that a man so well beloved of the comminaltie should be put to death openlye, and therefore determined to execute him unawares. And so a parliament was sommoned in the kinges name to be holden at thabbey of Bury, whither at the day appoynted repaired the noble men, and among them the duke of Glocester, who was taken

The duke of Gloster apeched of sundry crimes.

A parliament somoned at Burye.

sodenly the night folowing and stranguled, the woorst example that ever was hearde of; all his retinew were committed immediatly: but after he was killed, never one of them suffered, onely divers of them, to aggravate their reproche, were brought to the place of execution, and straite waye pardoned. The dukes corps was had to the abbey of St. Albones, and there interred. By these pernitious practises of his enemies was this noble duke overthrowen, xxv. yeres after that he had governed this lande. Thus may we see that (as Cicero saith) to them which be in authoritie, neither court, the chiefe helpe of all men, neyther house, the common refuge of every man, no nor bed, wherein we are to take our rest, is voyde from the perill of death. But it seemeth, that the title of Glocester geven unto earles and dukes for honors sake hath been fetall, and foreshewed the destruction of them who should enjoy it, forasmuch as, before this Humfrey, Hugh Spencer, and Thomas of Woodstocke sonne to Edwarde the Thirde, thone earle, thother duke of Glocester, ended their lives by miserable violence: also, after them, king Richard the Thirde, duke of Glocester, was slaine in battaile within the realme; so that the title thereof may as well be applyed proverbially unto unfortunate personages as sometime was Seianes horse. But againe to the matter. After that the rumour of the dukes death was spredd abrode, many were sodenly astonied with feare, others utterly abhorred the fact, so much was it thought to all men an outragious and extreme crueltie. But surely the common wealth sustained thereby most losse, the stay whereof depended upon no man so much at that very time as upon him alone, which was apparent by the event of matters folowing: for surely after the shamefull slaughter of this duke good men forsooke the court, in whose places succeeded such for the most part as, seeking themselves for the soveraintie, opened the gate easily to newe factions and division.

The duke of Glocester murthered.

The dukes followers condemned, yet none died, but pardoned.

A good sayenge of Cicero.

The authores observacion of the tytle of Glocester.

The yere folowing, which was the 1447 of our salvation, dyed

Henry cardinall of Winchester died.

Henry the cardinall bisshop of Winchester, who was the onely man by whose high wisdome and puissant wealth king Henry might have been so supported that, all feare sett aside, he might without doubt have continued in perpetuall peace at home. And yet it was thought that William Wainflete, who succeeded him in the bisshopricke of Winchester, was able to supplye the great losse which king Henry had susteyned by reason of his death: for that man, because of his upright administration of justice and prudence, was long time lord chancellor of England. Amongst many of his notable deedes this one was above the residue most excellent: that he, to thende his countrey might more and more daylye abounde with learned men, builded at Oxforde a college for suche as shoulde be geven to learning, in a very fitt and large place, and gave thereunto possessions, the revenewes whereof might mainteyne them with sufficient livelyhode: the woorke was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, that like as that good woman refreshed sometime the feete of Christe with sweete oyntment, so (she being the patrones of that place) good wittes might be there fed perpetually with the heavenly licoure of learning, which of them there is doone with diligence. But as touching the parliament which was appoynted for the woorking of the saide wicked traine, after the horrible murther committed, there was in the same no matter debated woorthie of memorie, save that William marquise of Suffolke was made duke, who was increased with that dignitie because (as after was manifest) he had beene the principall contriver of that develish devise, to kill the said duke of Glocester. He was chief author also that a sore subsidie was set upon the people, whereat all men rather inwardly grudged then openly withstoode, because they longed to be out of that place where such heynous attempt had been perpetrate and done: for when as the better part of noble men thought themselves nowe berefte of free speeche in parliament, all, by and by, partly op-

Wainflete lorde chanselor of Englande.

Mary Magdalens coledg' founded.

The duke of Suffolke created.

A subsedye granted.

pressed with dolor, partly having brought to passe their practises, departed home, and so thassemble was dissolved.

While this stirre was in Englande, Francisce, an Arragonoys, a knight of Normandie, of singular vertue, and very serviceable, who had alway taken part with Englande, tooke, by stealth, from Francisce duke of Britaine, and spoyled the towne of Foungiers, adjoyning upon Normandie, and very riche with the wealth of the olde inhabitauntes: after which damage receaved, the duke advertised Charles the Frenche king of thinjurye done unto him; and, because the trewce yet continewed, besought the king to demaunde againe of thenglish men that which the Arragonoys had thus reft, contrary to right, for that he was on his side. When king Charles had heard the dukes complaint, he dispatched, forthwith, ambassadours to the duke of Soommersett, requiring restitution of Fougiers, and of the spoyle taken during the trewce. Whereunto the duke of Soommersett aunswered, that he liked not of thattempt, because it was done both without his and the kinges commaundement. But if king Charles would sende ambassadours to Loviers, he would likewise sende thither some grave personages to treate of restitution: thambassadours mett at the place, and conferring togethers, adjudged that Fougiers, with the goodes, was to be restored, and the damages to be recompenced: which to doo Frauncisce denayed, and laide many reasons for his defence. Finally, when the Frenche ambassadours demaunded againe the goodes and possessions of their confederates; and the Englishe affirmed, that it was not in their power to restore that which another man helde in possession; and moreover, to avoid blame, promised, that if the Frenche king would require the premisses of the saide Fraunces by force of armes, they would not defende him: the meeting brake up without redresse or conclusion made. In the meane while the Frenche men, who, according to their hott and

Fulgeras.

Louerium.

fierce nature, kest in minde as well howe to be revenged of that wronge as by what meane they might procure restitution unto their confederates, tooke, by treason, Pountlarche, letting goe thenglish garrison, who, fearing no such matter, were surprised upon the sodaine. And thus was the trewce broken, and warres begonne againe. And yet because the dealing therein caried the color rather of injurie apert, than of any subtill sleight, the duke of Soommersett beganne to demaunde of the Frenche king restitution of Pountlarche, not by armes, but by ambassadours; but he aunswered that Pountlarche should be restored, so that Fougiers were restored to the duke of Britaine. Howbeit, king Charles his drift appeared shortly afterwarde, who, when he understoode the state of England, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, to be voyde of councell, and to burne with sedition, conceaved in minde, that within short while he should be able to recover Normandie: wherefore he determined not to slipp any part of that good lucke and oportunitie, but to take time while time served. Wherefore he devided and sent out his forces three severall wayes all at once, and the fame of his former successe somewhat furthering the victorie, he brought into his obedience within fewe dayes, by composition, Mante and Lysieux, though not without losse of some of his souldiers. The which exploite fortunately finished according to his owne desire, king Charles, advauuced both in courage and force, with earnest affection also of the armie, assayeth to winne by assault Vernon, where, though thinhabitauntes were much dismayed with this sodaine attempt, yet, trusting to the garrison and hoping of reliefe, they encouraged one another, and made resistance a good while with great valour: but after that ayde was differred, contrary to their expectation, and longer than any of them would have weened, they were forced to covenant with thenemy, that if reliefe were not sent before a day certainly prefixed, so that

The truse betwene England and France broken.

Mantenses.
Lexouiũ.

Vernone.
Vernon beseeged by the Frenche.

the English garrison might depart with bag and baggage, they would yeeld. At whiche instant the duke of Soommersett came, upon knowledge whereof king Charles raysed his siege. The seege raysed by the duke of Somersets aproche.

Thus when as the warre so sodenly renewed before thende of the treuce, then the whiche a greater mischiefe could not have chaunced, was of itself matter ynough to trouble the heades of the English captaines, besides that also the sodaine revolting of people hindered them so, as they were not able to relieve their afflicted state: for surely, while they prepared to succoure one citie, three or foure, folowing fortune, fell from them to thenemy. The cause wherof sprang especially for that the same was alreadie spreade over all Fraunce, that since the death of the duke of Glocester the people of Englande were, by factious division of the nobility, diversly affected, and that William of a marquise lately made duke of Suffolke, with divers others, who (as afterwarde plainely appered,) were principall procurers to murther the duke of Glocester, did so molest, oppress, and with innumerable discommodities afflict the commonaltie of Englande, for thexacting and gathering togethers of money, as that the mindes of men were not set upon forreine warre, but vexed above measure howe to repell private and domesticall injuries, and that therefore neyther pay for the souldier, nor supplye for tharmie were, as neede required, put in readines; which mischiefes while the king gave no great regard unto, neyther that Margarete his wife, who, notwithstanding she had the government of the whole realme, was able to redresse; thereupon undoubtedly it came to psase that, after it was knowen in what case the state of England stoode, both thenemy gathered hart, and the Normanes and Aquitanes were so farre discouraged, that, hopelesse of all ayde, they contended who might first revolt to the Frenche. Therefore within fewe dayes after the bruit of so great debilitie was blowen through Fraunce, the Frenche men gained, almost with no busines at all, Constans, Gysors, Castle- Several townes in France re-

volted to the king of France.

galiarde, Saint Lo, Fescant, Alanson, Newcastle, and in Gascoigny Manlisson, with the castles thereof, being yeelded in thende by thenglish men themselves, who, compelled by sodaine revoltinges of the people, had retired thereinto. They tooke also by like happ and successe the towne of Roane. This towne the duke of Soommersett, and lorde Talbot, with other captaines of warfare, defended for a while very valiantly and constantly, and would without doubt have repulsed the present perill, if they had not been more troubled to conserve the people in obedience then to resist thenemy, who, notwithstanding seeking time incessantly to betray the towne, as soone as ever opportunitie served to worke the feate, could be ruled by no meane, but receaved the Frenche within the towne. Which thing once knowen, the captaines and garrison fledd into the castle. Here they helde themselves a fewe dayes, ever now and then annoying the towne with shott: finally, both hope of ayde and victuall fayling, they were forced to covenant with thenemy for safetie, and so departed to Cane, which David Haule, the captaine thereof, a valliant and pollitike warrier, kept with strong warde and watche. After these thinges the Frenche men, pursuing the victorie, and imboldened by fame of their atchieved enterprises, set forward to Hareflore, and endeavoured to besiege it: Thomas Curson, a man of hault courage, was captaine of the towne, who, notwithstanding he hearde of the heavie event of Roane, was no whitt dismayed, but at the firste assault destroyed many his enemies, which rashly assayed with ladders to scale the walles. Afterwarde the Frenche man, warned with his own losse, made trenches, planted his ordinance, and battred the town continually. So the siege many dayes prolonged, when that Curson sawe no succours sent from his owne nation, he lefte the towne to the Frenche. Not long after king Charles arrived, and setting upon Hareflew, another towne by the sea coast, on this side the river of Seyne, receaved it by compo-

Hareflorū.

Thomas Curson capten of Hareflore.

sition. So farre from meane is fortune, who eyther favoureth or persecuteth too vehemently. While this stirre was otherwhere, Thomas Tirrell, having receaved anewe but very selender supplye of souldiers out of Englande, tooke on hande to besiege the towne of Liseaux, whereof he was master within a while, and, placing garrison therein, made haste towardes Cane, to joyne with Mathew Gough, who as we have before shewed, was taken at the siege of the castle of St. Selerine, and had a litle before redeemed himselfe, that they two togethers might somewhere encounter with thenemye, who was reported to be going to Cane, before he should come thither. But in that voyage himselfe, alone enterprising the very same day to joyne battaile with part of his enemies that he mett by chaunce, was, after much slaughter on both sides, put to flight: thother part of the French armie was alreadie arrived at Cane, which, because the discomfiture of Tirrel aforesaide had cutt off the citizens from all hope of reliefe, was within fewe dayes after yeelded upon composition that the duke of Soommersett, who was in the castle, with the residue of Englishmen, should have free libertie to depart. Uppon like condition also was yeelded the towne of Baieux, and Faloyse: but in the yeelding of Faloyse, over and besides the safetie graunted unto thenglishmen, the lorde Talbot, and all that were therein, were permitted to depart with armour, bagg and baggage: forasmuch as the Frenche men of an olde custome do boast and bragge, that their renowme and fame resteth not in golde and silver, but in dominion and conquest of the whole earth. By reason of which matters the remnant of Normans, all doubt sett aside, yeelded, by ambassadours, into the obeysance of king Charles, so that thonely castle of Chirrbrowhe, scituate upon the sea coast, remayned English. Thither lastly came the Frenche men, and after a fewe skirmishes thereabout they receaved the same also by composition. The dukes of Soommersett and Yorke with the rest of tharmie marched into Aquitaine, to helpe the decayed state thereof

Thomas Tirrell and his company discomfeted.

All Normandie in subjection to the king of France, except Chirrbrowghe, which was also recovered by the Frenche.

also. Thus lost king Henry all Normandie, thirtie yeres after his father Henry the 5th had by armes recovered the same, which was
1451. the yere of our salvation 1451, and the xxixth yere of his reigne.
The accidents of the dukes of Brittanye. About thende of the same yere departed this life Fraunces duke of Brittaine, without yssue, by whose practises, as is even at this day reported, his brother Gyles, a very noble man, was put to death. Peter, another brother, succeeded him in possessions; but he briefly bereft of life, Arthure his uncle was made duke; and he, within two yere after, dyed of disease, without yssue, whereby thinheritance descended to Fraunces the sonne of his brother Richard.

After the conquest of Normandie, king Charles omitted no time that fitt was for the warres, knowing very well that the fortune of warre was often variable and subject to chaunge, and therefore assoone as might be conducted his armie into Aquitaine, which he reduced into his obeysaunce without much labour; for when the fame of the towne of Roane lost came unto their eares, even then mistrusting the forces of thenglish affaires, they seemed to foresee that they should be compelled to come under subjection of the Frenche. Although the dukes after their coming thither ceased not to fortifie holdes, to supplye the decayed crewes of souldiers, to exhort the people that they would remayne obedient and dutifull; also both by often letters and messengers to geve intelligence unto king Henry concerning the hazarde of losing that province, and to require ayde, yet none came out of Englande. Whereby it fell out that the Aquitanes, seing afterwarde before their eyes thenemy readie, as well to invade forceably as also to spoyle the countrey, while that every man for himselfe regarded nothing els but to defende his owne private fieldes, townes, and possessions at home, were in that respect more negligent and fearfull to make preparation for warre, least by resistance they might cause their great losse. Yet thenglish nation, who of their owne naturall dis-

position are wont not to geve over, no not even at the very death, endevoured with tooth and nayle to avert that adverse fortune; for seing that many of their people did revolt to the Frenche, and that those of Cardeux beganne alreadie to be seditious, they encountered with thenemy by the way as he came and fought a fielde not farre from the towne, which was mainteyned manfully, but in the ende, oppressed with multitude, they were discomfited. Many truely were killed, but some also taken; yea, of the Frenche, who were twise so many in number, were wanting tenn thousand, who therfore lesse pursued thenemy, contenting themselves with that victory though very blouddy, whereby finally they wanne all Aquitaine; for the forces and puissance of Englande were so wasted with this overthrowe, that assoone as the cities adjoyning hearde thereof, they sent forthwith to treate with the Frenche of submission, and not longe after yeelded in very deede. After that Bourdeaux was recovered, Baione, the last of all the cities in Aquitane, came under the subjection of Fraunce. The Englishmen that were left alive, oppressed with so great calamities, made repaire unto their shipps, under the conduct of the dukes of Soommersett and Yorke. Heare, when thenemy, who was glad of their departure, did nothing urge nor hinder them, they prepared for passage; and so, after the redemption of captives, they tooke shipping, lowsed forthwith, and with prosperous winde returned into Englande. Thus was Aquitane lost, about 299 yeres after that Henry the Second had receaved the possession thereof in the name of dowrie of Aleonore his wife, as we have before mentioned in the twelfth booke, which was the yeare of our Lorde 1153, and 222 yeres after that king Henry the Thirde had recovered the same of Philip the Faire, king of Fraunce, being taken from John, his father, a little before. This yere, wherein thenglish nation lost their dominion in Aquitane, was the yere of our Lord God 1452. And as for these victories, so valiantly atchieved by king Charles,

Aquitaine loste to the Frenche, having byne in subjectyon to England 299 yeares.

1452.

they are (as is apparant) to be attributed not so muche to the force as the falshood of the Frenche. For truely the force of Englande was not so farre spent at that time, but that it had been puissant ynough to mainteyne warre; howbeit the dayly revolting of people who were evill affected towardes that nation was suche as no force could suffise; for surely there were, even from the beginning, who would say that one consideration was to be had of citizens, another of the residue, and thereby concluded that none was to be had of straungers; whereby it came to passe that the common societie of mankinde was broken, and a certain naturall hatred mutually bred of it selfe in both peoples. This venime, therefore, hath already a good while since infected much people, so as that (to be silent of others) it cannot be brought to passe by any meane that a Frenche man borne will much love an Englishe man, or, contrary, that an English will love a Frenche man; such is the hatred that hath spronge of contention for honor and empire; and that (as we have before declared) hath been these many yeres increased by mutuall bloudshed and slaughter, wherefore this was the very cause of thutter ruine that came to thenglish affaires beyonde the seas. But Charles, the lanterne light and mightie emperor, was thonely man who by martiall prowesse restored the corps of his common wealth, and by right of armes augmented the same. When forreine warre was finished, intestine division began to revive; for a great part of the nobilitie fretted and fumed for the evill handling of matters in Fraunce: one sort laide the fault upon another, and all generally detested and cursed above measure William duke of Suffolke as thutter confusion and destruction of his countrey, that he had lavished out the common treasure, that he had not geven paye to the souldier, that he had not caused supplye to be sent to tharmye, that he had made the court voyde of good councellours, whereby he might rule all as himselfe list. By meane of these rumours it came to passe, that

The duke of Suffolke charged severally, but chefly with the death of the duke of Glocestere.

the commonaltie in great furye accused duke William and all his fautours for the death of the duke of Glocester, and for robbing of the common treasurie, and openly required that he might be punished; which when the queene did see, fearing sedition, she dealt with the king, that, for pacifying of the multitude, the duke might be committed, which was done accordingly. But within fewe dayes after, the queene, supposing that the common people were satisfied with such kinde of ignominie as the duke was thus put unto, commaunded him to be delivered out of warde, and placed in as high favor with the king as ever he was before; whereat the commonaltie in a rage begann to exclame more then at the first, saying that it was a wickednes intollerable to suffer a man convict of so many mischefes to remaine in the court, or to be had in any reputation; which, after the king hearde, then finally perceaving it was no boote further to dissemble the matter, he first punished the fautours and adherentes to the saide duke; then he commaunded the duke to goe in exile, upon such intent that when the rage of the commonaltie should be appeased he might call him home againe, because the queene could not well spare him out of her sight: but the ungratious man, that so well deserved death, could be saved by no meane; for when he tooke shipping, and directed his course into Fraunce, he was sodenly taken and killed of his enemies. And so this William (as meete is to beleeve) receaved from God due deserved punishment, who, besides many other fowle factes, was reported to have practised the duke of Glocesters death, that by suche meane thinnocent bloud of thone might at the last be revenged with slaughter of thother. But when William duke of Suffolke was deade, peace could no whitt the better be preserved, by reason of civill dissension, the beginning whereof spronge through contention of factions, as before is saide, which alway have been and ever will be more hurtfull to common wealthes then forreine warre, then famine, or

The duke of Suffolke baneshed and killed in his jurney.

sicknes; whereunto the Kentish people were most prone, as well for that they can hardly beare injuries, as for that they are desirous of novelties; for whether it were by instigation of Richard duke of Yorke, who, aspiring to the crowne, sought to make innovations, his pollicie tendyng to this ende, that by occasion of discorde amongst the commons he might procure himselfe authoritie, and become the head of some one faction, or els that they were desirous to revenge injuries done unto them, especially by the kinges officers, so it was they tooke weapon in hande, made one John, by surname Cade, their captaine, and gathering a great power togethers, marched towardes London, whither as soone as they approched, they incamped themselves upon the next hill thereunto. Here, consulting deeply upon the matter, certaine were chosen to present their supplication full of complaints unto the king, and to declare, that there thassemble in this forceable maner was for the libertie of their countrie, against certaine his counsellours, who molested his people with intollerable exactions of money; and if it might please him to cause them be dulye punished, they were readie to laye weapon apart. The king, thinking it unmeete to geve audience to the messengers of this rebellious rowte, but rather with speede to represse the fury of their inraged commotion, sent forthwith against them Humfrey Stafford, knight, with a choyse bonde of men, upon whom they gave charge as he came, and at the first encounter put him to flight. After which happy attempt they allured unto them on every side, in hope of spoyle, an huge number, as well citizens as countrey people, and so together in warlike maner marched towardes London, wherinto they entered at the first without any harme doing; but afterwarde, moved by covetousnes, they spoyled the houses of certaine wealthie citizens; and yet, because they would not be reported to seeke after spoyle, they gave out, that the same was done in revenge of wronges committed by the said citizens. But

Jacke Cades rebellyon.

Sr. Homfrey Stafford sente against the rebelle Cade.

Cade enters London.

that dealing turned in the end to their owne damage; for many of good calling, who were privily well pleased with that rebellion, in hope of some reformation that might growe thereby, when they saw the Kentish men fall to spoyle the towne, fearing what might chaunce to themselves, they thought it not meete to expect any longer the event of that furious enterprise. But all this while that the Kentish commons raged with crueltie upon the citizens, none went about to withstande them before that John Saye, lorde treasurer of England, with sundry other gentlemen, were beheaded. Then Thomas Chalton, lorde maior of the citie, and the sheriffes, Thomas Caninge and William Huline, determining by one meane or other to make head against so great mischiefe, levied quickly a mightie force of souldiers, and because John, captaine of the commons, kept his men beyonde Temmes, at the village of St. George, in the suburbes, and thither repaired himselfe every night, therfore, under the conduct of Mathew Gough, they set upon the rebells about midnight, and tooke the bridge, killing the watch and warde thereof. But they founde the Kentish men not unprovided, for as soone as they, who for feare lay in armour both day and night, understoode by clamor of their company that the citizens were upon the bridge, by and by they russhed upon them, and the fight was forthwith fierce and cruell. After that Mathew Gough sawe the Kentish men make mightie resistance otherwise then he would have weened, he anon advised his folkes no farther to proceede, but onely contended to keepe the place which he had taken untill it were day, that the rest of the citie, hearing the noyse, might certainly know to what place they should resort for relieving of their felowes; but the commons so forceably preassed upon, that the citizens were compelled first to geve a litle grounde, and after, with great slaughter, to forsake the bridge. The Kentish men anone supplied their places, and being masters of the bridge, set fire on both sides in the houses builded thereupon. Then

John Saye, lorde treasurer of England with otheres were behedded by Cade. Caningius. Hulinus.

Londone bridge fired by the rebell Cade.

might one beholde a lamentable sight, for some flying the fire, ranne headlong upon the weapons of their enemies, to their owne destruction; other, alas, with horrible shrieks and cryes, were suffocate in the flame; many, moreover, valiantly fighting, were killed in the conflict it selfe, and amongst them Mathew Gough, a man of passing prowesse, very dutifull to his countrey, and of great renowme in martiall affaires, who had served beyond the seas with great commendation more than twentie yeres; but finally, such was the chaunce, that he who was invincible in so many conflictes with forreyne enemies, was, in the ende, of his owne countrymen rewarded with death. But when the king perceaved that the Kentish people could not be subdued by force, thinking to pacifie them by lenitie, he proclamed pardon to all them that were in that rebellion, John Cade, their captaine, onely except, who being the head of that heynous enterprise the fact of it selfe would by no meane suffer unpunished: whereupon the people, as having that which they desired, hasted home immediately with the spoyle they had gotten, leaving their captaine, who was taken soone after, and lost his life for his labour.

Mathewe Gough slayne.

Pardon proclaymed to the rebells except Cade himselfe.

When this insurrection in Kent was pacified, soone after, another more perilous rose upon the sodaine, which much more subverted the forces of the common wealth; for as the body which hath been recovered of infirmitie is more extreme sick when by resydivation it falleth downe againe, so the common wealth, when after the ende of warres beyond the seas, and of this Kentish commotion, the same fell againe into intestine division, was more vehemently afflicted. For Richard duke of Yorke, who aspired to the soveraintie, trusting to that title, whereby, as we have before described in the life of king Richard the second, thinheritance of the kingdome was to descend unto the house of Yorke, after he perceaved that the rebellion in Kent had with the rage thereof nothing prevailed, then enterprising to attempt and practise

Richard duke of Yorke sett on foote his clayme to the crowne.

greater matters, begann to conferre his newe devises with Thomas Courtney earle of Devonshire, and Edward Brooke, a man of a sharpe witt, how he might, without note of treason, obtaine the same. And because Edward duke of Soommersett was thonely man living at that day, who, by watchfulnes, care, and perills, which he did often undertake, and also by good advise, supplied the part of a good counceller, who also principally desired to have the realme delivered from factions, the king safe, and all things quiet; the duke of Yorke, therefore, not doubting but thother would withstande his purpose and practises, determined to pushe at him, that eyther he might be brought to utter confusion, or els in hatred of the common people, and envie of the nobilitie. And so he made haste with all diligence to gather an armie, to allure unto him most lively youthes, promising to reward them with great matters; and because he should not seeme to practise any thing against the king, he published openly, under pretence of revenging common injuries, that he woulde persecute with weapon certaine of the kinges wicked councellers who afflicted dayly the poore English people, where no neede was, with detrimentes innumerable, and spoyled the realme. Many mo thinges did he sowe amongst the common sort, that his drifte might not appere to his adversaryes. And so publishing that he toke this warre on hande for thutilitie of the common wealth, he proceeded, conducting a right great armie into Kent, whither when as he came, he choosed a place to encampe in tenne miles from London, where he had intelligence by certaine espials, every howre of the day, what was done about the king. And to thend he might not lack supplye of souldiers, in case he should joyne battaile, he commaunded Edward his sonne earle of Marche, a man both of great courage and councell, to levye newe forces at home, and therewithall to folowe him; which thinges when king Henry understoode, he called the councell togethers, and explaned unto them

all such intelligence as was brought unto him of the duke of Yorkes comming into Kent, and demaunded particularly of every man what he thought of that commotion, and what remedie was to be applyed to the same, being of so great importance. They all thought it very meete to goe against the duke of Yorke speedily, with an armie royall, to incampe the same in viewe of the duke, and then to demaunde of him what the matter was, why he should as an enemy to his countrey enterprise warre.

The duke of Yorke in armes mette by the kinges armie.

This councell was allowed, and the king conducted his armie almost in a square battaile into the viewe of his enemies sooner then they thought of: from thence he sent ambassadours to knowe the cause of so great stirre, and to make an atonement, if so be that they should understande the demaundes of the adversaryes to be reasonable. When duke Richard had hearde the ambassadours, whether it were that he was afeard to daraigne battaile, or that he was abashed of the kinges sodaine arrivall, or els upon hope of better oportunitie afterwardes to proceede in the matter, he aunswered that he would lay armor apart, and willingly come to the king to aunswere that which his highnes would object against him, so that first the duke of Soomersett might be by the kinges commaundement committed to warde. When the king had receaved this aunswere by thambassadours, considering that he coulde not without mortal battaile reduce the duke to reason, nor without great stirre appease civill dissension, if he should seeke reconciliation by dint of sworde; he therefore upon good advise commaunded the duke of Somersett to withdrawe himselfe into his house, whereupon the duke of Yorke dissolved his armie, came to the king, and much complained upon the duke of Soommersettes pride and avarice, and, by accusing him, seeketh onely to winne favor of others. But the duke of Soommersett, thinking it apperteyning as well to his dutie as to the profite of the common wealth not to put up that open reproche, could not

The duke of Somersete restrained.

refraine, but needes would come againe to the campe, and aunswere openly to thoffences wherewithall he was burdened; he appeached likewise the duke of York of treason, that he and his adherentes had conferred togethers howe to gett the kingdome. By meane of these speeches it came to passe that in the kinges returne the duke of Yorke was brought as prisoner to London. Here while the king, having assembled togethers a councell of the nobilitie, sought to trye out the truth of the cause, the dukes fell at great wordes betwixt themselves, thone objecting to thother most high and heynous offences. But the duke of Soommersett, who foresawe the thinges that soone after happened, was specially earnest to have the duke of Yorke apprehended, and by torture compelled to discover his secrete practises, to confesse his offence, that upon his owne confession he might be attainted, and so by losse of one noble man the flame of intestine warre extinguished. Moreover that his sonnes might be proclamed enemies to their countrey, and thereto he besought God that such an enemy might not escape unpunished.

The duke of Somerset appeached the duke of Yorke of treason.

This did the duke of Soommersett, because he accompted it for certaine that the duke of Yorke aspired to the kingdome, and had determined the destruction both of him and also king Henry. But the fatall desteny could not be avoyded by anye humane pollicie, for many lettes there were why the duke of Soomersettes sayinges tooke no place: first, the confidence and boldnes of the duke comming to the king so simply without his army, which was thought of many men to proceede of a cleere conscience, though indeede it was plaine dissimulation; secondly, a late rumor, whereby it was bruted that Edward, sonne to the duke of Yorke and heyre apparant, was marching speedily towardes London, accompanied with an huge hoste of lustie and brave souldiers: thirdly, ambassadours were sent from Bordeaux who gave intelligence to king Henry that their citizens, having conspired togethers,

Ambassadores sent from Bur-

deulx to offere their submission to H. 6.

were readie to turne into his obeysance if he would sende an armie into Aquitaine, and that oportunitie served therefore very well, insomuch that there was no force of Frenche souldiers with them fit for the fielde, and that therefore nothing was to be preferred before this warre. For these very causes Richarde duke of Yorke was permitted by the king to depart home, full of yre and indignation, who even then resolved within himselfe to adventure his very life, so that once at the last he might revenge thinjury of his enemyes. But the duke of Soommersett by this contention, when the duke of Yorke was in a sort exiled, gott greater authoritie, and with Margarete the queene ruled all thinges. That was the yere of our salvation 1453, and since king Henry begann his reigne the xxxist. when as of Margaret the queene was borne Edwarde, thonely sonne of the said king Henry. He even from his infancie gave hope of most excellent disposition, and at the yeres of discretion proceeded no lesse in vertue. In which yere also dyed John Stafford, archbisshop of Caunterbury, in whose place was surrogate John Kempe, bisshopp of Yorke, in order of bisshops the lxii., whom Nicholas the 5th bisshop of Rome made Cardinall. Also William, both bishop of Coventre and Lichfield, was translated unto the see of Yorke, who was in rewe of bishopps the 55.

The duke of Yorke discharged.

1453.

Edward, sonne to H. 6, borne.

Jo. Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury.

Thambassage of the Burdeaux men being heard, it was thought good that warre should be renewed; the fidelitie of the citizens thereof was greatly commended, and the king promised to sende the lord Talbot with an armie into Aquitane, and to make warre upon the king of Fraunce by sea and lande. With this answere (being according to their heartes desire) thambassadours privily returned in like order as they came, and, reporting king Henryes determination, confirmed their felowes in the purposed attempt. But the lorde Talbot, after he knewe the kinges pleasure to be that an armye should be levied, and assoone as it were readie be transported with celeritie into Aquitane, tooke on hande tha

Ambasadores of Burdeuxe came into England for succore.

The lord Talbot appoynted to prepare an army for Aquitane.

voyage with so much livelynes of minde as that he had not been seene more carefull touching any matter of warre at any time before; what shall we say to that he thought every hour longer than other while tharmye was prepared. Therefore he mustered out the best souldiers he could finde; he prepared weapon, horses, and other implements of warre; also victuall plentie; and finally all other furniture that is wont to be necessary for such warre as was to be kept in sundry sortes, and should have neede of many thinges. So having all thinges prepared to his owne satisfaction, and his navie furnished, he sayled into Aquitane, whither when he came with reasonable good winde, and had landed his armie, he scoured over all the countrey adjoyning upon Burdeux, he sent out certaine bandes of soldiers every way, who scaling farre abroade might put thinhabitauntes in terror. Thinhabitantes of Burdeaux, hearing of the lord Talbotes arrivall, sent secret messengers unto him, late in the night, that he would approche nigher the towne. In the meane time all others, except onely those who were privie to the conspiracie, were stricken in such sodaine feare, that all went out of order. But especially the Frenche souldiers who were lefte for defence of the towne, practising upon thapproche of the lord Talbot to flye away, fell into the handes of thenemies, who, neverthelesse, casting away their weapons, the lord Talbot preserved in safetie. When Burdeaux was recovered, and fortified with garrison, the lorde Talbott, departing from thence, receaved almost without any payne or trouble certaine townes adjoyning, and their castles withall; for all people of those partes generally did willingly submitt themselves into the obedience of thenglish nation, because they receaved often damage of the Frenche men, and were brought nowe by reason of continuall warre into great scarsitie of all thinges; wherfore, at the same time, came messengers to the lord Talbott, from cities afarre off, also, promising to doo with all their heartes whatsoever he would

Burdeulxe recovered by the Englishe, and diveres othere townes and castles revolted to Henry 6, in Aqutaine.

commaunde. In the meane season king Charles, who laye about Towres, after that he had receaved often intelligence of the lorde Talbots doinges, and that he was also certified of the revolting of Burdeaux and others, he gathered forthwith great forces, and marched toward his enemies, sending before a great part of his armye into the countrey of Perigneux, to besiege the towne of Chastillon, which thenglish men had taken, and helde with garrison. They proceeded on that voyage with great celeritie, they compassed the towne with a siege, and erected fortifications for the purpose. The lorde Talbot hearing hereof, marched to Chastillon with a part of his armie; taking great journeys, he intercepted certaine Frenche souldiers roving negligently abrode in the countrey as he went; he incamped himselfe nigh unto the trenches of his enemies, and the day folowing, in good order of battaile, assaulted them in their campe. The battaile was blouddie in the very trenche, and so doubtfull that hard was it a long time to discerne whether side should gett the better. But when the Frenche men, within a while, releived ever their weried and hurt souldiers with fresh and new supplye, and so still renewed the fight, and that the lorde Talbot fell sodenly from his horse, being hurt with the shott of a peece, then finally the English souldiers, astonied by the fall of their captaine, were put to flight. Many yet were killed in the place where they stoode. The footmen ranne some one way some another, who about sunne sett being assembled, came hardly to their owne company: a thousand English men and moe were wanting, and amongst them the lorde Talbot, and many other renowmed men of very good calling. This was the ende of John lorde Talbot earle of Shrewsbury, xxiiii. yeres and more after he had warred in Fraunce with moste high renowme. Truely a very noble and valiant man, whose puissant prowesse mad thenglish name most terrible to the Frenche man. Of thenglish horsmen, who fledd first, some repaired to such holdes adjoyning as were in

Chastillon beseeged by the Frenche.

The battle of Castilon fought betweene the lo. Talbot and the French.

The lord Talbot slayne, and the English discomfited.

the handes of the English, some to Burdeaux; but the Frenche men, folowing the victory, pressed more earnestly then before the Chastillions, whom they compelled soone after, dispairing of succours, to yeelde. When Chastillon was recovered, they gott soone after from thenglish nation, partly by force, partly by composition, all the residue of the townes. Burdeaux onely remayned, wherein was all thenglish force. This tooke on hande king Charles to besiege, and spending many dayes in vaine, did nothing annoye thenemy, but rather himselfe dayly receaved damage, forasmuch as thenglish issued often out of certaine fortes which they had made upon the shore: and on thother part, the citizens who were giltie of the conspiracie, dispairing of pardon of the Frenche kinges hande, valiantly defended themselves; but at the last, both two, almost sterved with hunger, were constrained by necessitie to receave conditions, which king Charles had often before offred, for rendring of the towne, which were as followeth, that the treason should be imputed to no man, and that thenglish men should depart; who, so dismissed, returned safely into Englande with armor and all other substance.

Chastylon loste to the French.

Burdevlx recovered by the Frenche.

This, finally, was the ende of forreyne warre, and likewise the renewing of civill calamitie: for when the feare of outwarde enemy, which as yet kept the kingdome in good exercise, was gone from the nobilitie, such was the contention amongst them for glorie and soveraintie, that even then the people were apparently devided into two factions, according as it fell out afterwarde, when those two, that is to say, king Henry, who derived his pedigree from the house of Lancaster, and Richard duke of Yorke, who conveied himselfe by his mothers side from Lyonell, sonne to Edwarde the Thirde, contended mutually for the kingdome. By meane whereof these two factions grewe shortly so great through the whole realme that, while thone sought by happ or nap to subdue thother, and raged in revenge upon the subdued, many men were utterly destroyed,

The duke of Yorke settes his tytle on footeagain.

and the whole realme brought to ruine and decay. But the source of all this stirre rose (as we have before shewed) from Richard duke of Yorke; for he had conceaved an outrageous lust of principalitie, and never ceassed to devise with himselfe howe and by what meanes he might compasse it; thinking nothing better for his purpose then to stirre up the hatred of noble men against the duke of Sommersett, it greeved him very much that the realme was ruled by his appoyntment. And therefore he dayly reported every where to all the nobilitie, that the state of the common wealth was most miserable; the same he ceassed not to detest and bewaile; and ascribed the cause of all that mischiefe to the duke of Sommersett onely, whom he termed, reviled, and dispraised, to be an unjust, false, prowde, and cruell tyrant. He founde much fault also with king Henry, saying that he was a man of softe and feeble spirite, of litle witt, and unmeete in all respectes for the right government of a common wealth, and therefore that it touched nobilitie to thinke of the matter, or rather to devise remedie. By complayning of such thinges, the duke brought briefly to passe that well many of the nobilitie did likewise mislike the present state of the realme as it was nowe ruled, and withall studied to alter all thinges, as men whom ambition and avarice had invaded a good while before, and nowe vehemently oppressed. Then when as parties begann by litle and litle to be diverslye affected, the duke of Yorke procured chiefly to be of his faction two Richardes, Nevills, thone earle of Salesbury, the other, his sonne, earle of Warwicke. This last had married Anne, sister to Henry duke of Warwicke, who died a few monthes before; in the right of which yonge lady he was by the King created earle thereof. He was a yonge man, not onely mervailously adorned with vertues in deede, but also had a speciall gifte, as it were by art, even from his infancie, in the shewe and setting forth of the same; for his witt was so ready, and his behaviour so courteous, that he was wonderfully beloved of the people.

The duke of Yorke his description of H. 6, and the duke of Somersete.

The earle of Salesburye and Warwick take parte with the duke of Yorke.

The discriptyone of the earle of Warwickes vertues.

He was also liberall to all men, which helped him much to thattayning thereof. Moreover, the haultines of his minde, with equal force of body, encreased the same popular good will. By reason of which matters the people were fully pursuaded that there was no matter of so great importance which the said Richarde was not able to undertake, wherefore he became within a while of such estimation, that whither as he inclined, thither also swayed the more part of the people. Thus much of the sonne. Thother Richard, the father, was equal to him in vertue, but not so well beloved. He had in marriage Alis, thonely daughter of Thomas Montacute, earle of Salesbury, who (as we have before written) was killed at the siege of Orleance, and succeeded to his inheritance. He begatt, of the said Alice, these children,—Richard, earl of Warwicke, John, and George. Nowe I returne to my purpose.

The mary-age and issue of the earle of Salesburye.

After that the duke of Yorke founde the two Richardes, the father and the sonne, to be on his side, he prepared warre, and to that he applied wholly both witt and wisedome. Not longe after he begann his journey towardes London with an army well appoynted. The rumor of so great insurrection put the citie in passing terror, when every man did see beforehande, that eyther he must be in extreme daunger, or els runne in displeasure of some one or other noble man. When the king knewe of his adversaryes repaire, he levyed an armye, and determined with speed to goe against them, that he might joyne battaile with them in some place of Yorkshire, farre from London, because he held that citie suspected, for the inconstancie of the commonaltie, being desirous of novelties. But he was not past two dayes journey on his way, when he had intelligence that the duke of York, who had taken great journeys, was at hande; then, constrayned to encamp himselfe at St. Albones, he kept his men in armor, and sent in the meane time straite commaundement to his adversaryes that they should not come against him, nor, like enemies to their

The duke of Yorke in armes; the King levies forces.

Att the battalle of St. Albones was slaine

diveres greate men on the Kings party.

countrey, disturbe the people with sedition. While king Henry dealeth in this order, more desirous of peace then warre, Richard earle of Warwick sounded the alarme, and first of all other gave charge upon the kinges souldiers, because the company which he ledd did exceede both in number, and in force of footmen. They on thother side receaved also the charge willingly. They fought fiercely upon both parties, from early in the morning till nine of the clock, with much slaughter, while at the last, by reason of the dukes releeving his weried souldiers with fresh supplye, the kinges armie was discomfited, and many souldiers killed, with their captaines, of which number was Edmonde duke of Soommersett, Henry second earle of Northumberlande, John Clifforde, and many other valiant knightes: but king Henry conceaved great and uncredible sorowe for the losse of the duke of Sommersett, because he had reposed all his hope in him, and for that such a noble captaine, who had fought valiantly so many yeres against the Frenche men, should nowe finally be killed of his owne countrymen, with whom yet the vertue of the man was of some accompt, insomuch that they caused his corps to be brought and buryed in the abbey of St. Albones adjoyning. This Edmonde lefte behinde him three sonnes, Henry, Edmunde, and John, who also tooke part with king Henry. Moreover many were taken, in the number whereof was king Henry himselfe. That was the yeere of our salvation 1456, and since king Henry begann his reigne xxxiiii. dishonoured with this domesticall discomfiture. In which yere John Kempe, archbisshop of Canterbury, dyed, before he had sitt in that see three yeres complete, whom Thomas Burscher bisshopp of Ely folowed, the lxiii. in order of bisshopps of Caunterburye, who was within a while made cardinall of the title of St. Cyriacus. About the same time Osmond, who sometime had been bisshopp of Salsbury, was by Calistus bishop of Rome canonized for a saint, because he had been a perfect holy man.

The duke of Somerset buryed at St. Albones.

King H. 6 taken at the battell of St. Albones.

1456.

Osmond bushope of Salesbury canonized for a St.

His body is even at this day kept at Salesbury in the chiefe churche there, with great reverence, for that there are shewed many miracles. Also Charles king of Fraunce departed this life, who made his name famous universally, by reason of his often calamities; for he exercised not his youth in pleasures, but in toyles and troubles, who had ynough to doo to recover his auncient inheritance of the kingdome. Hereof may we knowe, that calamitie bringeth oftentimes great renowme, which of the contrarie part pleasure doth never. Lewes the 11th succeeded his father.

Charles Kinge of France diethe.

The duke of Yorke after the victory obteyned, calling to minde howe he had published at the beginning that his rising was for reformation of the common wealth, armed himselfe with mildness, mercie, and liberalitie, and was so farre from laying violent hands upon king Henry, that also he brought him honourablye to London as conqueror of the fielde. Here consulting by and by with the two Richarde Nevilles, and divers other noble men, whom he thought meete to be called to that assemble, he procured himselfe to be made protector of the realme; Richard Nevill, the father, lord chauncellor of Englande; and Richard Nevell, the sonne, captaine of Calis; whereby the government of the realme might rest in him, and Richard lord chancellor; thother Richard might have charge of the warres; and so Henry might be king in name and not in deede, whom they thought best to forbeare at that time, least otherwise they might stirre up the commonaltie against them, who loved, honoured, and obeyed him wonderfully for the holynes of his life. When matters were thus ordered, they three bare all the swaye, as well concerning civill as forreine affaires, who, to thende they might after their owne fantasies, without resistance, deprive king Henry eyther of kingdome or life at their pleasure, removed therefore from him by litle and litle his olde counsellors, put them from office and authoritie, and did substitute in their places new men of their owne faction; like order they

The duke of Yorke delivered the king; put himselfe & his frendes in cheefe place.

devised, decreed, and performed touching all offices within the realme. But in the meane time Henry, who, not without the kinges commaundement, succeeded his father Edmund in the dukedome of Sommersett, and Humfrey duke of Buckingham, with many other noblemen who helde and stoode with king Henry, lamenting his adversitie, and not ignorant to what ende all the duke of Yorke's craftie courtesie tended, thought as time would serve to provide for the same. And therefore they went secretly to queene Margarete, made her privie of their councell, and declared that the duke of Yorke sought to deceave the king, yea, in very deede to kill him unwares, and therefore required that she would in time prevent the matter; which she might very well doo, if she would separate her husbande from those who lay in waite to destroye him. The queene, much moved with this admonition, who was afraide both for herselfe and her husbande, tooke occasion within fewe dayes, upon the season of the yere, to perswade him that he woulde, under colour of seeking for a more wholsome place, withdrawe unto Coventrie, and there provide for his affaires. Wherefore the king, seeing himselfe in daunger, rode thither, and calling an assemble of his frendes, discharged Richarde duke of Yorke of the protectorshipp, and therle of Salesbury of his office, and sent by letters for them both to appere before him. But they, taking this new displeasure in evill part, after they had deliberated betwixt themselves which way and howe they would deale, at the last, with much indignation, departed peaceably; Richard unto Yorke, therle of Salsbury into his countrye, and the earle of Warwicke to Callis. Howbeit, what their resolution was, or what was the cause of their departure, I know not certainly what to write, except it were for that they were altogether unprovided for warres.

H. 6 removed to Coventry by directyon of the Queene, to avoid the danger of the duke of Yorke.

The duke of Yorke & his confederates seperate themselves.

These seditions thus renewing, emboldened the commonaltie (of London especially) to uprore, who, set aworke by meane of an

The Londonores

affray, ranne upon merchauntes straungers chiefly, as they are commonly woont to doo, and both wounded and spoyled a great number of them before they could be by the magistrates restrained. But the brute of this busines being brought into Fraunce, was cause of muche more harme: for the Frenche navie, who at that time lay upon the coast of Normandie, for defence thereof, hearing that all was in hurly burly in Englande, sent sodenly certaine shipps, upon the hope of spoyle, unto the Kentish coast, where, landing their men, they burned divers villages, and gott great bootie. This civill discorde also allured James king of Scottes to make warre upon Englande. He at the first conceaved mortall displeasure against William earle of Dowglasse, a noble man of great partie, because he was fully perswaded in minde that the earle affected the kingdome. The suspicion grew so great that hee being in the ende called by the king to conference, and upon confidence perchaunce of his innocencie, aunswering very boldly to the matter layde against him, was, by the kinges meanes, killed out of hande. With which injury Archbolde earle of Murrow, and Hewgh, thearles brothers, being much moved, determined to revenge the same with weapon upon the kinges owne person, and made open warre against him, which helde king James longe, and put him to much displeasure: but lastly he subdued his adversaryes and set the realme in rest: which when he had done, hearing that in Englande they were fighting amongst themselves, he straitway sett forwarde to burne and spoyle the boundes thereof, and when there was no army extant any where to make head against him, he beseeged Roxbroughe, where, having planted his ordinance, he framed to thassault. But as he was busied earnestly hereabout, beholde sodenly one of the brasen peeces brake, whereof one peece hitt him, so that he fell downe deade. Yet notwithstanding the kinges death, the Scottes would not omitt the possibilitie which they had to atchieve that enter-

ryse in rage against the stran-gers.

The Frenche invade Kente.

James King of Scottes entres England by force.

The earle of Dow-glase slayne sodenly by the king of Scots command.

Roxburghe beseged by the kynge of Scots, wheare he was slayne by the breakynge of a peece of orde-nance.

prise, but, being very earnest thereupon, wonne it soone after. King James left three sonnes of his wife Mary; James, Alexander duke of Albany, and John. James being but a childe for yeres, was created King, the thirde of that name, and committed to the teaching of James Chenneth, bisshopp of St. Andrewes, who longe time was the governor of the lande, because he was a very good man, and adorned exceedingly with all vertuous qualities.

The Bushope of St. Andrewes protectore to King James the 3 of Scotland.

In the meane while king Henry, advertised that the duke of Yorke did practise nothing as an enemy against him, returned to London, and calling togethers his counsell declared howe the Frenche men, knowing the great stirre of civill dissention within the realme, had of late enterprised to robbe and spoyle the sea coast in Kent; and on thother side, the Scottes, moved for the selfe same cause, had wonne Roxbrowghe; and that it was very like that neyther of them would be quiet except they should understande some conclusion of argument to be made amongst the noblemen; and to thintent that the same might once at the last be brought to passe, woulde himselfe seeke to reconcile the duke of Yorke, and to recover the good willes of all men, least otherwise by intestine division the libertie of the lande might be brought in hazarde. Whose advise, when all men allowed, certaine grave personages were sent to the duke of Yorke, and other noble men of that faction, requiring them to repaire unto the king. The duke of Yorke, and thearle of Salesbury, with other their confederates came to London garded with great force, because they would not be intrapped by any practise of their enemyes, whereunto they had speciall regarde. The earle of Warwicke came thither also from Callis. Here, after much mutual rehearsall of olde injuries, and querulous repetition, as well of late as of almost forgotten faultes: finally, the feare of forreyne warre was of such weight, so yrke were all men of domesticall discorde, that the

The king moveth unetye betweene the nobilitie.

noble men, omitting private hatred and offences, very carefull for the wealth of the countrey, gave othe, every man particularly, to continue their olde accustomed amitie. The newes whereof made all men so gladd, as that all sortes of men every where gave by mutuall congratulation apparent testimonie of rejoysing without measure. Wherefore, to geve God thankes, generall processions were universally commaunded, and especially at London, to be solemnized with much veneration, whereat the King and Queene were present in person, and a great company of noble men withall. This was the yere of mans salvation 1458, and since king Henry beganne his reign the xxxvith.

Mutuall oath geven to the nobylletye for unetye.

1458.

But faithlesse and seditious folke forgat soone both concorde and othe, according as it is commonly seene, that whoso delighteth in dissension, bloud, and battaile passeth litle of possessions, lawe, nor league: for not many dayes after the king and his nobilitie had been thus reconciled, a sodaine stirre there was, whether by chaunce or of purpose it is not certaine. The matter was thus: certaine of the queenes housholde made an affray upon therle of Warwicke at Westminster, where after longe fight the earle could hardly by helpe of the multitude that came to part get to the water, and from thence, by taking a whirrey, avoyde the daunger; upon this ryot, the rage of warre did so fervently rise as that all the realme was brought in uprore, and the hazarde of armes did no man escape. The earle, after this displeasure to him done, repaired to Yorke unto the duke, and his father thearle of Salesbury: to them he made relation what injurye he had receaved of the kinges servauntes. After his saide complaint therein, fearing least by his absence he might be thrust out of his office, he transported to Calis, with intent there to tarrye from time to time, while the duke might deliberately resolve upon the poynt of the matter. The duke and thearle of Salesbury, much moved with this offence, spake openly betwixt themselves in bitter and sharpe termes, that the matter was nothing els but the fraude and

An affraye made upon the earl of Warwicke by some of the Queenes houshold.

The E. of Warwick repayreth to Calis.

fury of a woman, meaning the queene, who, thinking she might do whatsoever she listed, sought nor minded any thing so much as by womanish sleight to torment, consume, and utterly destroy all the nobilitie of the lande. But afterwardes they came to the matter, and resolved betwixt them, that the earle of Salsbury should, with an armie in good array of battaile, marche to London, there to complaine unto the king for this injurious breache of amitie and agrement; and that if he should perceave himselfe able to prevaile, not to omitt thoccasion of revenging his honor against the queene and her counsellours, who so evill governed the realme. And upon this resolution the earle began to sett forwarde. In the meane time the queene, above all other, who being assisted, ledd, and advised by the dukes of Soommersett and Buckingham, was of herselfe, for diligence, circumspection, and speedie execution of causes, comparable to a man, tooke it for certaine that this late tumult had been stirred by thearle of Warwicke, purposely, to thende that upon such occasion he might set forwarde his perpensed malitious enterprise, whereby the duke of Yorke might once at the last attaine the soveraigntie. Wherefore this wise woman, supposing that it would be in vaine to treate ever any more with her adversarye of attonement, after that she understoode thearle of Salsbury to be in armes, called togethers the councell to provide remedie for the disordered state of thinges. Many thought it good to expect thearles approche, whereby it might be certainly knowen whether he minded peace or warre. Others gathered, by reason of the late seditious attempt, that the matter would not be ended without fight, and therefore that it was to be determined with all haste howe to goe against him. This opinion tooke place, and forthwith James Tuchete lord Audley was sent with an armie to meete with thearle of Salesbury by the way, and, if occasion so required, to fight with him. The saide James tooke great journeys, and so came into the territory about Lichfielde, whither as his enemyes were al-

The E. of Salesbury furnesheth an army to jurney towardes London.

readie arrived, and pitched his tentes as neere as he could to theirs. The next day therle of Salesbury would not omitt the possibilitie of fight offered, but early in the morning gave the charge. The battaile continued divers houres, but in thende thearle wann the fielde, with great slaughter both of his enemyes and of his owne men also. In which number was James Touchet; so that almost all the kinges armye, a few noble men only except who were taken, was destroyed.

The earle of Salesburye joynes battell with the Lo. Audleye at Lichefeeld, & overcomes, & the lord Audley is ther slayne.

After this battaile the duke of Yorke perceaving that his privie practises and secret devises were discovered, manifested, and made knowen to the king and queene, who endeavoured everywhere to avoyde the mischiefe inevitable, thought even then that dissimulation could not take any longer place with them, and therefore, as well for thobteyning of the kingdome, as for the safetie of his owne life, determined with might and mayne to set forwarde that cause. And so, togethers with Richard earle of Salesbury partaker of all his practises and further fortune, he gathereth a newe armie; and soone after both togethers, having assembled an huge multitude of souldiers, encamped themselves in Yorkshire, meaning eyther there to abide their enemies, or from thence to goe against them in their comming. The rumor whereof being brought to London, greater then cause was, caused the king in all haste to levye an armye from every hande; wherewithall using great celeritie, as in matters of feare is often accustomed, he came into Yorkshire, and encamped not farre from his enemyes, before ever they were ascertained that he would come. But there was no feate of warre done worthy memorye; for the conspiratours diversly departed upon the sodaine, the cause whereof was as followeth: Richard earle of Warwick came to that warre from Calice with a great bande of souldiers, and joyned with the duke, and with his father. Thaugmentation of which ayde so animated the duke, as that he determined the next day after to joyne battaile with his

The duke of Yorke and E. of Salesburye gather a newe armye.

The E. of Warwick returned from Callis with his forces to

the duke of Yorke.

enemy. But in the meane season, Andrew Trolop, a most faithfull man, and perfect warrier, who had longe served at Calis under king Henry, when he conceaved that they were to goe againste the king, whose true subject and defender he tooke thearle of Warwicke to have been, and no traitor or betrayer, without more adoe, departed with his retinewe, in the night time, to king Henry, of whom he was very courteously enterteyned as a faithfull olde trained captaine, which thing as soone as the duke of Yorke knewe, he begann wonderously to be abasshed and amased: for being in doubt what best was to be done, it troubled him verye much that the king (as he knew most certaine) did exceed him in number of souldiers; and it pinched him no lesse that Andrew Trollop, a passing good captaine, was become his adversary, whose prowesse and pollicie did nowe as much appall and dismay him as it had before comforted and emboldened. So when after longe consultation he could not resolve upon any poynt, because he could devise nothing wherein seemed not some great daunger and difficultie, though finally he thought it damageable to depart the field, yet presently as time required he deemed best to give place. And therefore himselfe passed thoccean into Irelande, making very fewe of his owne neerest frendes privie to his intent. Thearles of Salesbury and Warwicke, with Edwarde the dukes sonne earle of Marche, got themselves to Callice. The residue of tharmie were partly taken, and partly scattered. The king after the flight of his enemyes marched great journeys into Wales, that he might take the duke of Yorke as he fledd, of whom he had intelligence geven that he should passe through that region unto the sea coast, and premised certaine horsmen to besett all the same beforehande. But the duke of Yorke had bought a shipp for a great deale of money, wherein he passed the seas before ever the horsmen approched the shore, whereof when the king was advertised, he stayed at Ludlow. Here the while of his abode

Andrewe Trolope and his company departed from the earle of Warwick to the Kinge.

The duke of Yorke and the earles of Salesbury and Warwicke departed the feelde without fyghte.

The duke of Yorke fleeth into Ireland and the earles of Salesbury and Warwicke flee to Callis.

he, by advise and councell of his lords, proclaymed all his adversaryes traitours to their countrie; he pronounced their goodes to be confiscate, which after that were solde, he commaunded their wives and children to be safely kept. He also rewarded them who had well deserved, and eyther caused execute the captives, or punished them by the purse, or exiled them the lande. Here he decided olde controversies, here he receaved into his protection the people adjoyning, who following thither seemed to be gladd of his prosperous state and safetie. Here did he constitute and appoynt such noble men as were of approved loyaltie and goode minde towardes him, to governe and defende the counties of Yorke and Durham: and here finally did he make Henry duke of Soommersett captaine of Calice. But the olde proverbe is true: that as soone sowing sometime deceaveth, so late sowing is alway naught. Truely as touching this busines, long lingring hurt the king: for if at the beginning he had bereft them of this refuge, without doubt he had destroyed them utterly.

The duke of Yorke and E. of Salesburie proclaymed traytores.

The duke of Somersete made captayne of Calis.

These thinges dispatched, the king returned to London, and, trusting to the good will of the souldiers who were of his pay in garrison at Calice, he sent with all diligence and speede possible the duke of Soommersett unto his charge in the continent. The duke went to Calice, and, shewing the king's commission, commaunded the towne to be delivered up to him, which thearle of Warwicke denayed to doo, and, shutting the gates, kept him out afarre of. The duke being much afearde, because he perceaved that all the garrison consented thereunto, departed to Guynes, the next towne of the kinges dominion there, and the same he receaved of the captaine, who obeyed his demaunde. Then indeavouring with greater care and courage to revenge thinjurye done unto him, he begann daylye to skirmishe with thearles men. But thearle of Warwicke, while his souldiers passed over the time in skirmishing with the duke of Soommersett, gathered a great navie

and sent a good part of the souldiers which he had there with him to Sandwiche haven in Kent, to spoyle the place, and to lett thapproche of his adversaryes. They arrived sodenly in the haven, where they assailed and tooke at unwares with litle labour certaine shippes well furnished, and ready to transport, which had been sent to ayde the duke of Soommersett, and were nowe caried with much preay to Calice. Then thearle of Warwicke, seeing that there was no daunger to be doubted from his enemyes, sayled speedily unto the duke of Yorke into Ireland; with him he did conferre, deale, and deliberate howe to handle their affaires, and that done returned forthwith to Calice, shewing unto his father and unto Edwarde earle of Marche the dukes opinion to be, that they should passe over with an armie into England as soone as might be, and omitting no oportunitie for the doing of any exployte to annoy the king by feates of armes, untill he shoulde come unto them with a great supplye of souldiers. They, approving this councell, sayled with celeritie into Englande, and marched towardes London; for that toune being kept without watche, and nothing furnished like a toune of warre, was of necessitie open to the first assailants. Here they put in armes such of the rascall people, and others whosoever came running to them. Here they made preparation of all thinges necessary for the warre, and with an hoste gathered together of all sortes marched towardes Northampton, where as the king was arrived not longe before; which dealing knowen to the queene, who was supported by the wealth and wisdome of the dukes of Soommersett and Buckingham, who had more eye to such causes then the king had, as in who monely all his care laye, she with hawtie heart gathereth an armie, and sending for from every hande the nobilitie of her faction, who also particularly repayred with a choyse force of men, made up quickly an huge hoste. After the king understoode that he had by thindustry and diligence of the

dukes and queene, an armie of no small accompt, he determined to fight with his adversaryes, and incamped himselfe in the next medowes without the towne alonge by the river Nyne, and when he perceaved his enemyes at hande, encountering them by the way, he caused sounde the alarme. His enemyes deferred not the fight. The battaile begann very early in the morning, and a litle before noone the king was vanquished. There was killed almost tenn thousande, and amongst them Humfrey duke of Buckingham, John Talbot earle of Shrewsbury, a passing excellent yonge man, and most like his ancestours, Thomas lord Egromond, and many other. The number of prisoners was also very great, because manye of the horsmen had put their horses from them, and, as their maner is, fought on foote; and principally above all other king Henry fell in the handes of his enemyes, a man borne to the miserie, calamitie, and adversities of this life. The residue of noble men who escaped the rage of this blouddy discomfiture, with the queene and prince Edwarde, fled into Yorkshire, and from thence into the bishopricke of Durham, eyther there to renew forces, or, if they should be destitute of the hope therein, to flee into Scotlande, and there to tary while the time might geve better possibilitie of fortunate successe. The earles being conquerours ledd king Henry captive to London, and calling a parliament labored earnestly to deprive him of all regall authoritie. At which time the duke of Yorke, being certified of the victory obtained, arrived straight out of Ireland, and, entering into the higher house, tooke firste that place which in the parliament is proper to the king. Then after, before all thassemble, he pronounced himselfe king, persuading that he did the same by good title and right. But at the last a reverence was had of the royall maiestie; for it was concluded by parliament that thinheritance of the kingdome should come to the house of Yorke after the death of king Henry; and in the mean time Richard duke of

The batle of Northampton, where the King was vanquesshed and diveres lordes slayne.

K. H. 6 taken in the battell.

A parliament somoned.

The parleamente restored H. 6, and made the duke of York protector, and confyrmed the dukes right to be aftere the deathe of H. 6.

Yorke should be protector of the realme. Such was the pleasure of God, that king Henry, a most holy man, should by so many calamities, wherewithall he was continually afflicted, be deprived of this earthly kingdome to enjoy forthwith the everlasting: for a good man can never be but good, though he suffer a thousand afflictions. But the common people beleeve that misfortune to have been by signe prodigious before prognosticated, for as much (as they say) that a litle before, when king Henry satt in parliament in his robes royall, the crowne fell from his head to the grounde. The yere in which these thinges were done was of our salvation 1460, and since king Henry begann his reigne xxxviiith.

1460.

After these thinges the duke of Yorke, knowing for certaine that the queene would not be content with the decree of this parliament, made speede into Yorkshire to pursue her, and pitched his campe at a towne distant from Yorke upon the west about fifteen miles, of some strength, by reason of a castle adjoyning, which towne is called Wakefielde; and there he consulted with his frendes as touching thassayling of his enemyes. Some there were who thought it not meete to joyne battaile before his sonne Edward should come with newe forces; but the duke, trusting to his owne knowledge in warfare, and the valiancie of his souldiers, yssued out of his campe against his enemyes in good array. Likewise the queene, who was resolved in minde to demaunde her husbande by dint of swoorde, and for that cause had alreadie assembled a puissant armie, when she understoode that thenemie approached, forthwith she made head against them and gave them the charge. At the beginning the fight was mightily mainteyned mutually, while that a great part of them who were in the front of the battaile being killed, the duke of Yorkes small number was environed of the multitude. Then the queene encouraging her men, vanquished the residue of her enemyes in the moment of an houre. There fell in that conflict Richard duke of Yorke, the head of that

The battell of Wakefeeld, wherein the duke of York was slayne, and many others taken by the queene.

faction, with Edmund his sonne, earle of Rutlande, Thomas Nevill, David Hall, John Parre, Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, Eustace Wentworth, Guy Harrinton, of thorder of knightes, and of courageous captaines James Fitzjames, Raphe Hastinges, John Baunne, and Roland Digbie. Richard earle of Salsbury, another head of that faction, was amongst others taken, who were beheaded soone after, and their heades, put upon stakes, were carried to Yorke for a spectacle to the people, and a terror to the rest of thadversaryes. After that, the queene, with an armie well appoynted, made speede to London for delyverie of her husbande, and by the way, at St. Albones, mett the earle of Warwicke coming to ayde the duke of Yorke, and bringing as prisoner with him king Henry. Here the woman with no lesse courage then she had done before in Yorkshire, gave charge upon thenemy, put him to flight, and recovered her husbande. Surely this Margarete, wife unto the king, warred much more happily by her owne conduct and authoritie then by the kinges. The earl of Warwicke, thonely man upon whom all the weight of the warre depended, being certified, after the discomfiture at St. Albons, that Edwarde earle of Marche, after that battaile at Wakefielde, wherein his father was killed, was gone into Wales, (and there prepared a newe armie, having put to flight Jasper earle of Pembrowghe, who tooke part with king Henry, and made head against him,) went therefore unto the said earle of Marche, whom he founde by the way, comming with a great hoste of armed men, nigh unto the boundes of Oxfordshire. Here they two, arguing upon the substance of the matter, concluded to goe to London, which they were sure helde on their side: and so, taking councell of their frendes, Edwarde was proclamed King, and king Henry utterly deprived from all regall authoritie, because he had not kept covenant, nor obeyed the decree of parliament, as though he had already woonn the fielde. But king Henry the meane while, who suspected the Londoners, and thought it not

The E. of Salesbury takene and beheaded with others.

The battele of St. Albones, whear the earle of Warwicke fled.

Jasper earlle of Pembroke put to flighte by the earle of Marche.

Edward earlle of Marche proclaymed Kinge.

best to goe thither, because he perceaved the remnant of his adversaries to be at hande, departed from St. Albons to Yorke, and there encreased his forces, who thought himselfe nowe at an ende of all travaile and daunger, seing the heades of the contrary faction were destroyed, insomuch that in one other battaile finally he hoped utterly to extirpe all that was lefte. But the matter fell out otherwise then he weened, when for two heades one yet remayned of passing valor and abilitie, which could not be suppressed; for Edwarde was much desired of the Londoners, in favor with the common people, in the mouth and speeche of every man, of highest and lowest he had the good willes. He was, for his liberalitie, clemencie, integritie, and fortitude, praysed generally of all men above the skyes; wherefore there was concourse to him of all ages and degrees of men, with wonderfull affection, insomuch that some gave in their names to goe to the fielde with him; others, in the behalfe of cities, promised their good willes, and all that they might doo, and swore to be his true subjectes. By which occasions this Edwarde, brought in hope of victory, prepared as great forces as he coulde possible, that in the conflict of one day he might perfect all his travailes and victoryes. Thus being stronge, with these forces aforesaide he marched towardes Yorke, and when he came about xi. miles from the same he encamped himselfe at a village called Towton. When king Henry knewe that his enemies were at hande, he did not issue forthwith out of his tentes, because Palme Sunday (as they call it) being a solemne feast was at hande, upon the which he was rather a minded to have prayed then fought, that the next day after he might have better successe in the fielde. But it cam to passe by meane of the souldiers, who, as their maner is, like not upon lingring, that the very self same day, by day breake in the morning, after he had with many wordes exhorted every man to doo particularly his devoire, he was forced to cause sounde thalarme. His adversaries

The battelle at Towton on Palmese Sondaye, in which the Kinge is discomfeted.

were thereto as ready as he; tharchers begann the battaile; but when their arrowes were spent the matter was dealt by hand strokes with so great slaughter that the very deade carkasses hindered them that fought. Thus did the fight continue more than tenne howres in equall ballance, when at the last king Henry espyed the forces of his foes increase, and his owne somewhat yeelde, whom when by newe exhortation he had compelled to presse on more earnestly, he with a fewe horsemen removing a little out of that place, expected the event of the fight; but beholde, sodenly his souldiers gave the backe, which when he sawe he fledd also. There was wanting of both parties about twentie thousand men. Amongst these was Henry the third earle of Northumberlande, and Andrew Trolop, and many other men of name. The number of prisoners and wounded persons, whereof some were cured and some dyed, were fullye tenn thousand. That battaile weakned wonderfully the force of Englande, seing those who were killed had been able, both for number and force, to have enterprised any forreyne warre. Edward, that he might use well the victory, after he had a litle refreshed his souldiers from so great travaile and payne, sent out certaine light horsmen to apprehend king Henry or the queene in the flight: but they journeyed all that night continually, and all the next day without intermission, so that the second day they came safe into Scotland, and sent forthwith lamentably unto king James, that for olde frendshipp and familiaritie they might be receaved in his kingdome, and by his might and puissance defended in so great calamitie. Divers noble men had government of the lande there at that time by reason of the kinges nonage, and chiefly James Chenneth, archbisshopp of St. Andrewes, as we have before declared. King James being but a childe, after he had heard who were sent, was by advise of his saide nobilitie so far from neglecting the request and fortune of king Henry, as that by and by he went

The E. of Northumberlande and Andrewe Trolop slain.

H. 6 and the queene fled into Scotlande.

himselfe to meete him, and brought him into his palace, whom, after much consolation that he shoulde with a willing and patient minde beare thevent of this late discomfiture, he interteyned with all courtesie, and used both liberally and also honorably all the while he was in Scotlande. King Henry, being bounden by this great courtesie, to thintent he might also eyther binde unto him by some benefite the king, upon whose ayde he did presently much leane and trust, eyther els might diminish the force of his enemyes, delivered up to him, to have and holde for ever, the towne of Barwicke. Yet there is a saying that king Henry did not that willingly, but against his will constrained thereunto in this extreme miserye, that he might therefore remaine in Scotlande. But howsoever the matter was lapped up, it is apparent that king James, having receaved the towne, promised king Henry all the favor and furtheraunce that he could doo any maner of way, which he performed after with diligence. When this was done, queene Margarete, with Edward her sonne, passed the seas into Fraunce unto Rhenate, her father, duke of Angeow, there by her father's helpe to prepare a newe armie; and king Henry, with certaine other noble men of his faction who folowed him, determined to tary in Scotlande, untill that by helpe of his frendes he might renewe warre againe, which he hoped would be shortly, and provide for himselfe and his owne affaires. Thus much of the variable and divers fortune of king Henry the Sixt, who reigned thirty eight yeres. But yet forasmuch as he recovered his kingdome againe tenn yeres after he had been expulsed the same, we shall more aptly in the next booke prosequute the residue both of his life and death.

H. 6 delivered to the kinge of Scotes Barwicke.

EDWARD THE FOURTH.

POLYDORE VIRGILL OF THENGLISHE HISTORY THE XXIIIJth. BOOKE.

EDWARD, after that king Henry was dryven owt of the realme, being in mynde muche exaltyd, as well by reason of so great victory as of the generall revolt of the nobylytie and commons, returnyd to London lyke a tryumphant emperor, wher, having caulyd a great assemble at Westminster, he was created king the third calendes of July, and caulyd Edward the iiijth. of that name after Wylliam the first Norman king, which was the year of mans salvation M.CCCC.lxj. The very same yeare he held a parlyament, wherein first he establisshyd the state of the realme as it wer of new, muche for the benyfit of the commonwelth, being so long neglectyd by reason of cyvill warr. Secondly, all statutes enactyd in parlyamentes bypast during king Henryes raigne wer repealyd, abolisshed, and abrogated. Lastely, his two younger broothers, George and Richard, thone was made duke of Clarence, thother duke of Glocester; also John, broother to Richard earle of Warwick, was created marquyse Montacute, Henry Burcsher broother to Thomas archebysshopp of Canterbury earle of Essex, and William Fawconbrydge was made earle of Kent. To this Henry Burscher, being a very noble man, passing good, and by fame of martiall prowesse highly renowmyd, Richard duke of Yorke had geaven in mariage Elyzabeth his sister, that therby he might have him princypally his assuryd partaker alway in warres and other casualties whatsoever. The which self same thing was also the very cause why king Edward soone of Rychard dyd now create the same man earle of Essex as ys before declaryd, to thend that

E. 4 came to London and crowned King 1461.

A parleament somoned.

The statuts made by H. 6 repealed.

E. 4 two brothers created Dukes.

John brother to the earle of Warwicke created marques Mountague and dyvers others created.

both the father and his soones also might ayd and support him; for Henry had begotten of Elyzabeth his wyfe fowre soones, William, Thomas, John, and Henry, and one onely dowghter namyd Isabell, who lyvyd short whyle; all which soones wer polytyke in ther practyses, peynfull in performing, in peryll of muche fortitude, in forcast very provydent; but most of all those vertews dyd abound in William, who was theldest. This William had maryed Anne a young lady of an approvyd vertew, and most highe parentage, doughter to James of Lusembrowgh earle of St. Paule, by whom he had yssue Henry, now erle of Essex (of whom we will intreat more at large in the xxvjth. booke), Cecyly, and Isabell; this dyed of disease before she was maryageable, thother was maryed to Walter Ferryse; but let owr speache repar to speake of that wherewithall yt began.

Wm. Burcher maryed the E. of St. Paules daughter.

Whyle all things fell thus owt fortunately uppon king Edwards syd, Henry duke of Soommersett, despearing now in king Henryes affayres, revoltyd to hym also, of whome he was very curtesly entertayned; but the duke soone repentyd that he had so doone, for king Henry had the mean while gatheryed in Scotland an army not lyttle, wherewithall he made hast sodaynly into the bishoppryk of Durham, which whan the duke of Summerset herd, he pryvyly reparyd to him, and many that wer king Henryes frindes folowyd after; yea an exceding great number of men, in hope of spoyle, assemblyd quickly from every hand, so that for force king Henry was thowght not muche inferyor to his enemy. The fame whereof was augmentyd for that every way as he went he wastyd, burnt, and spoylyd towne and fielde. Thus robbing and destroying he came to a village caulyd Hexame, wher he met and encounteryd with John marquyse Montacute, and after sharp fyght, as had often happenyd before, was discomfyted, lossing the most part of his army; himself with contynuall flight recoveryd Scotland, others otherwher by lyke meane savyd themselfs. Ther

The duke of Somerset adheares to E. 4.

The duke of Somerset revoltted from E. 4.

H. 6 returnes out of Scotland with a great power.

H. 6 discomfited at the batle of Hexam and flyeth

wer taken Henry duke of Summerset, Robert earle of Hungerforth, and Thomas Rosse. The duke of Summerset, for altering of his mynde, was beheadyd owt of hand; thother wer browght to Newcastle and executyd not long after, wherby others might be owt of hope seing ther afflycted nobylytie bereft of this lyfe. But king Edward, thowghe presently he thowght his affayres to be now at the last, by reason of this late victory, suffycyently assuryd, yeat was he very carefull that Margaret wyfe to kyng Henry showld by no meane returne into England, to move the people ther unto any further sedition; wherfor he causyd lay all the costes with garryson to stoppe thinvasion that might happen by sea, and wrote to all thinhabytants of the south parts not to receave the woman yf she showld coom, nor to ayd or releve hir any maner of way, for if they showld, he wold accownt uppon them as uppon his very adversaryes: he causyd lay watche also uppon all the marches of England agaynst Scotland, least any should depart owt of the realme unto king Henry. But what danger so ever might by possybilytie have procedyd from king Henry, the same was taken away incontinent; for himself, whether he wer past all feare, or dryven depely to soome kynd of madnes, was not long in secret, who enterprysing to enter England disguysed in apparell had scarce set foote therein when he was taken by the watche, and browght to king Edward at London, was commyttyd to warde. When king Henry was apprehendyd the state of the realme became more quyet, for as muche as those of that faction thought from thenseforth yt was utterly unmete for them to practyse any innovations. Wherfor king Edward, voyd almost from feare of enemy, causyd a parlyament at Westmynster, and employed at his pleasure welnighe fowre whole yeres folowing for the setting of thinges appertayning to the commonwealth and good government of the realme in order convenyent; and first of all, because (according to the owld proverb) thusbandman who toyleth owght

againe into Scotland.

Prisoners taken in the battle of Hexam.

H. 6 as he came disguised into England out of Scotland, and was taken and brought to London.

A parliament somoned.

first to taste the fruyt of his travaylle, therfor by common assent, and authorytie of parlyament, he distrybutyd to his faythfull and well deserving servytors, the possessions of them who had holden with king Henry. After that he provokyd the people generally to loove him by all kynde of lyberalytie, geaving to the nobylytie most large gyftes; and moreover, to gane unyversally the favor of all sortes, he usyd towardes every man of highe and low degree more than mete famylyarytie, which trade of lyfe he never changyd. Also soome lawes wer reformyd, soome newly inactyd; besyde that he set abrode a coyne as well of gold as silver, which is usyd at this day, wherof the gold partly ys caulyd ryalls, partly nobles, and the sylver ys namyd grotes: fynally he causyd open proclamation to be made throwght the whole realme, that all his adversayres who wold lay arms apart, and submyt themselfes to his obeyssance, should be pardonyd; whoso wold not, should therfor suffer condigne punysshment. How muche this clemency was for his profyt, and what good-will the people bare to him by reason therof, well appearyd evydent, whan for that only cause he semyd afterward to be unvyncyble.

E. 4 geves to his deserving servants the possessiones of H. 6 his followers.

E. 4 mintes royalles, nobles, and groats.

Proclamacon of pardon to all that wold submit themselves of H. 6 faction.

But king Edward, not content with the favor of his owne onely subjectes, determynyd also to seke thamytie of forrane princes, and the same to confirm by affynytie, that ether they might help him, or at the least not hurt him when nede requyryd; and therfor he dyd first place his syster Margaret to Charles soone to Phylip duke of Burgoygne; after that he sent Richerd earle of Warwicke ambassador into France, to demand in marriage a young lady cawlyd Bone, syster to Carlot queene of France, and dowghter of Lewys duke of Savoy. But whyle the earle travalyed into France and delt with king Lewys touching this new affynytie, with whom this yowng lady Bone was attending uppon the queene, king Edwardes mynde alteryd uppon the soddayn, and he tooke to wyfe Elyzabeth, dowghter to Richerd earle Ryvers, wyfe soomtyme to

Margarete sistere to E. 4 maryed to Charles duke of Burgyne.

The E. of Warwick sente into France to solyset ladye of Bona for

John Gray knight, by whom she had two soones, Thomas and Richerd; which mariage because the woman was of meane caulyng he kept secret, not onely from the nobylytie of his owne bloode and kynred, but also from Rycherd hir father. Wherfor whan yt was brutyd abrode throwgh the realme that the same was perfytyd, all men incontynent woonderyd, that the nobylytie treuly chafyd, and cast owt open speaches that the king had not doone according to his dignitie; they found muche fault with him in that mariage, and imputyd the same to his dishonor, as the thing wherunto he was led by blynde affection, and not by reule of reason. And surely hereuppon either first proceded the which sprang up afterward betwixt king Edward and thearle of Warweke; ether els, as soom men think, an occasion was heareby taken to utter ther malyce before conceavyd; for after that king Edward had obtaynyd the kingdome by thearle of Warwekes meane, as well was knowen to all men, he began to have thearles estimation and authorytie, which himself had made very great, in such iealousy that he thought yt mete to be abatyd, wherby he myght now use all thinges as himself lyst without contradiction both at home and abrode. So we fynde by experience that frindes do very seldom aunswer lyke for lyke, yea rather unthankfull myndes do requyte muche good with great evell. These practises wer not unknowen to Rycherd earle of Warweke, whose hope though yt was to have thankfully rewardyd, yeat he dyd esteme yt best to dissemble the matter untyll such tyme as the king might casually be dryven to soom distress wherein he might be bold to upbraid unto him his benyfytes; and yt caryeth soome colour of truthe, which commonly is reportyd, that king Edward showld have assayed to do soome unhonest act in the earles howse; for as muche as the king was a man who wold readyly cast an eye uppon yowng ladyes, and loove them inordinately. But whatsoever the matter was for the which they fell

maryage with E. 4.

E. 4 maryed to Elizabeth widowe to sir John Graye.

E. 4 is supposed to deflowre some woman in the E. of Warwickes house.

owt, whether for injury offeryd, or envye of authorytie, so yt came to passe, that after thearle had intelligence from his frindes of the kinges secrete maryage, and that his dealinge in the ambassage with king Lewys, as touching the contractyng of this new affynytie, fell owt in vane and to no purpose, he so highly began to be angry thereat, that furthwith he adjudgyd king Edward as a man unwoorthy of the regall scepter, mete to be expellyd by all meanes possible; yeat ther ys a common rumor at this day, that the cause of ther variance showld have bene this, because the earle had diswadyd the king not to place his syster Margaret in maryage unto Charles soone to Phylip duke of Burgoygne, whom the earle hatyd woorse than any man lyving, and for that king Edward wold not heare his advise, therfor this grudge to have growen betwixt them; as who showld say that a matter of so smaule importance could or ought to have alyenatyd the earle from hys liege lord; and this ys a mere fabell of the common people: but let us returne to our purpose. The erle of Warweke beinge thus vexid in mynde, moovyd, and angry, least otherwise he might utterly overthrow him selfe and his devyse, determynyd therfor to dissemble and covertly beare all these injuryes, while that time might serve to bring his purpose to effect; who havyng receavyd soone after the kinges letters of returne, excusyd king Edward unto king Lewys as well as wold be for the alteration of his mynde, assigning the same after a sort unto loove, wherin was never any meane. And so returnyng into England, presentyd himself before the king in manner accustomed, and mayde report of his ambassage as well as he cowld, without any shew of greife conceavyd. After that, within few days, he departyd the court, by the kinges permission and leave, into his earldome, for the refresshing both of mynde and body, as he gave owt. That was the yere of our salvation mccccIxvij, and the sixth since king Edward began his raigne; in which yere also, George Nevyll, broother to

E. 4. the E. of Warwicke brake into greate termes of hatrede.

The E. of Warwick returnes out of France.

1464. [*Sc.* 1467.]

the earle, was placyd in the stede of William archebisshop of York, lately deade, in rew of bisshops the Lij^te^. Also Phylip duke of Burgoygne dyed, whom Charles his soon succeedyd, a man both for haultynes of corage and martyall knowledge passing excellent.

George, brother to the E. of of Warwicke, made archebusshope of Yorke.

When Rycherd was arryvyd in his earldome of Warwicke, as we have already shewyd, he sent for his broothers, George archebisshop of York, and John marquyse Montacute; with them, after a day or two, he commonyd of dyvers matters; and lastely, having gotten a fyt occasion to complayne uppon the king, he impartyd to them his intente, exoorting them with many woordes and reasons to joigne with him in taking king Henryes part, and to help that he might be restoryd unto his kingdome; sainge in this sort:

The E. of Warwicke related his grefe to his 2 brotheres & resolve to advaunce H. 6.

'Yt is no lightnes of mynde, from the which I am farre of, my well beloovyd broothers, that moveth me herein, but a settlyd jugement which I may now easily make of king Henry and Edward; for he ys a most holy man, looving his fryndes intirely well, and thankfull for any benyfyt, who hath a soone, Edward by name, born to great renowme, bowntyfulnes, and lyberalytie, of whom every man may well looke for large recompense, whose care and travaile ys to releve his father in this calamytie. This on thother syde ys a man ready to offer injury, unthankfull, geaven wholly to folow sensualtie, and already shooning all honest exercyse; who resolutely maketh more honorable accownt of new upstart gentlemen than of the ancyent howses of nobylytie; wherfor ether must the nobylytie destroy him, or els he wyll destroy them. But we especyally who ar fyrst touchyd with displeasure must not put upp the matter; for I beleve yow ar not ignorant how that, after he was once settlyd in the royall seat, he began at the first secretely and than openly to envy thonor of owre howse, and, one way or other, dayly to dymynyshe the same, as thowgh he had exaltyd us unto that honor, and not we him to that royall powre and

authorytie; and therfor, as concerning our late ambassage in France, we wer not accountyd uppon, to thintent that thonorable renowme which we have gotten emongest all the nobylytie of this land, partly by prowesse of owr parent, partly by owr owne travaill, might be utterly dymynsshyd, defasyd, and in no reputation.' Tharchebisshop was with these perswations easyly inducyd to be of his opynyon, but so was not the marquyse, for he cowld never be movyd from the begyning to alow uppon any practyse agaynst kinge Edward; but in thende, whan therle of Warweke was promysed the ayd and assistance of many noble men, he was fynally drawen to joigne with the residew in that warre. After these thinges, therle of Warweke, being a man of most sharpe wit and forecast, conceaving before hand that George duke of Clarence was for soome secrete, I cannot tell what cause, alyenatyd in mynde from his broother king Edward, made fyrst unto him soome murmur and complaynt of the king, therby to proove him how he was affectyd; then after whan the duke dyd to him the lyke, explaning many injuryes receavyd at his broothers handes, he was the more bold to enter into greater matters, and discoveryd to the duke his intent and purpose, praying him to joigne therein. And because ther showld no suspicion of lyghtness aryse, he gave demonstration evydent how warely, perfytely, and peynfully the same had bene ponderyd and revolvyd in mynde, exhorting him also to take care and consideration of so great a cause, wherby all thinges might be throwghly provyded for, examynyd, and after a sort assuryd; fynally, after many faire promyses, he affyancyd unto the duke his doughter, which was then mareageable; by whose perswation and request the duke was overcoome, and promysyd to do all thinges as he should think good. Thus therle of Warweke, having impartyd his practyse with the duke, determynyd to make returne unto Calice, wherof as yeat he was captane, and ther kept his wyfe and chyldren: but to thintent that this so huge

The archebisshop adhered to the E. of Warwicke, but the marques Montagewe refused.

George duke of Clarence adheres to the E. of Warwick.

George duke of Clarence maries the earle of Warwicken doughter.

The E. of Warwick retyres to Calis.

sedition, wherewith England was tossyd and tormoylyd many yeres after, might once at the last have a begynning, he requyryd his brothers, tharchebysshop of York and the marquyse, to procure soome uprore to be made in Yorkshyre, anone after his departure, so that cyvill warre might be commencyd the while he was farre absent. These thinges thus determyned and his devyses approvyd, therle transportyd with the duke unto Calyce; and here, after the duke had sworne never to breake the promyse which he had made, therle placyd unto him in maryage his eldest doughter, Isabel, betrouthyd to the duke as is before sayd; which busynes dispatchyd, they began both two to delyberate more depely, and to conferre betwixt them selves of the maner and meanes howe to deale in this warre. Whan in the meane time, as had bene apoynted, an huge stere arose in Yorkshyre, begun uppon a wickyd and ungodly cause. Ther was at York an auncyent and welthy xenodochye, that ys to say, an hospytall dedicatyd to St. Leonard, wher powre and nedye people wer enterteynyd, and the sicke relevyd. To this holy howse all the whole provynce dyd, for devotion sake, geave yerely certane quantitie of wheat and first fruytes of all graynes, to serve thuse of the powre, which quantyty of corne thusbandmen, by provokement and instigation of certane headesmen of therles faction, as the report went, first denyed to geave, alledging that the thinge geaven was not bestowyd uppon the powre but uppon the riche, and rewlers of the place; aftirward, whan the proctors of the sayd hospytall dyd urge the same earnestly at ther handes, they mayd an affray uppon them; by which occasion secret assembles and conspyracyes further grew, so that within few days wer gatheryd togythers abowt xv^{ten} thowsand men, who in battayle arraye marchyd spedely towardes York. Whan the frequent fame of so great commotion came to the towne, all things wer replenysshed with a wonderus feare, the cytecyns, casting in mynd carefully what best was to be

An uprore & styre raysed in Yorkeshire by the practys of the archebushope.

An assemblye of 15000 came to the gates of York and discomfyted.

doone, contynewyd as men mutually amasyd therwith, and uncertane whether yt should be better to yssew owt agaynst the rage of this rural rowt, or to kepe the towne, and expulse ther forces from the waules. But the marquyse, lyuetenant of that countrye for the king, delyveryd the cytie of that feere, who, taking a very fyt way for avoyding of further danger, encownteryd with the commons as they came at the very gates of the towne, wher, after long fyght, he tooke ther captane Robert Hulderne, and furthwith stroke of his heade, which when he had doone he causyd all his army to retire from the battayle, very late in the night, and withdrew them into the towne. But the people, no whyt appallyd, but rather enragyd with the death of ther captane, passing bye Yorke, whiche, withowt ordinance, and other engynes of warre they could not assalt, marchyd towardes London, myndyng to set all in uprore. And as touching that the marquyse executed the captane of the commons, whom his owne confederates in conspyracy had sturryd up, the cause semeth to have bene, for that he might therby cloke and cover his intent, ether els because he had already resolvyd in mynde to hold with king Edward, with whom (as afterward appearyd) he joignyd in mutuall benevolence. But the king, who now began evydently to espy and conceave the secrete practyses of therle of Warweke, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, according as he had before suspectyd, after that he had intellygence, by often message and letters sent to him with all spede possyble, how that mayne multitude marchyd with banner displayed towardes London, he sent agaynst them furthwith William Harbert, whom two yere before he had created earle of Pembrowghe, with a mightie hoste of Walshemen, geaving him in charge, yf oportunyte should any wher serve, to fyght with them. The earle, using great celerytie, found the Yorkshire men encampyd not farre from Northampton, wher he also pightchyd his tents, and the next day after gave them battayll, wherin he was

Robarte Hulderne behedded.

The rebeles marched towardes London.

quikly discomfytyd. The Yorkeshyremen, well satisfyed with this fortunate fyght, waxed soodaynly more coole, and therefor procedyd no further forward, but loden with pray drew homeward, mynding to stay whyle therle of Warweke should coome to them; who not long after, togyther with the duke of Clarence, his soon in law, hearing of that commotion, had departyd from Calyce, and was now arryvyd, muche commending the captanes of the commons, congratulatyng the victory to all the soldiers in generall, and with all dyligence preparyd an army. The king, nothing appallyd with therle of Pembrowghs late overthrow, sent him agane with suche supply as for releyf of the present necessytie he had in readynes to make head against the enemy; himself with a few foloweth after, who, that he might be preparyd at all assays, contynewally, as he went, encreasyd his forces all that he might with the people of his faction reparyng to him plentifully; he professyd openly that he went to extirp the rase of pernycious parsons. But the earle of Warweke, whan he had intelligence of thenemyes approche, sent with owt lingering unto the duke of Clarence, who was hard by with an army, that he wold bring his forces unto him, signyfying withall that the day of battayle was at hand. Uppon this message the duke reparyd furthwith to the earle, and so they both having joygnyd ther forces marchyd to a village caulyd Banbery, wher they understoode ther enemyes to be encampyd. Ther was a feyld fowghte. Therle of Pembrowghe was taken, all his army slane and discomfytyd. Emongest this number was killyd Rycherd earl Ryvers, father to Elyzabeth the quene, and his soone John Vedevill. King Edward came after the same day a lyttle before night with a smaule army, and, hearing of the slaughter of his people, stayed about fyve myles from the village. Therle of Warweke returnyd with his victoryus army unto his owne towne, wher, within two days after, therle of Pembrowgh, with thother nobles taken in the conflict, was beheadyd.

The E. of Pembrooke discomfyted by the Yorkshire men in the batle of Northampton.

The duke of Clarence and E. of Warwicke aryved fromCallis.

The E. of Pembroke sente against the E. of Warwick.

The batle at Banbury, in which the E of Pembroke was taken.

Udevilla.

The E. of Pembroke and others executed.

In the mean time they began to entreat of a pacyfycation, for the concludinge wherof messengers passyd often to and fro, from the king to therle, and from therle to the king; so that the king was now browght in hope of attonement, and by reason therof nether tooke convenyent hede to his owne affayre, nether fearyd any owtward annoyance from thennemy, as thoughe all the matter had been endyd. Wheruppon therle of Warweke, conceaving by espyalls what possybylyte he had to acheve soome fortunate exployt, approchyd the kinges camp as secretly as he could in the night, and having kyllyd the watche and ward tooke the king at unwares, whom he brought with him to Warweke, and from thence, to deceave the kinges frindes, he sent him by secret journeys in the night season to bee kept at Myddleham Castle in Yorkshire; but no place was so farre distant whyther as the fame of the kinges apprehention dyd not reache, which made many men tremble and quake for feare. Howbeyt, when the king was prysoner in the castle he began to speake fayre unto the constable and keperes therof, to make request unto them, and to put them in so great hope of rewards, that, corruptyd with his plentyfull and large promyses, they let him go; yeat notwithstanding the rumor was spred that the same was doone by therles assent, which had bene credyble yf therle had afterward layd armor apart; but in dede yt was the unfortunacy of king Henry, for surely hereby might every man perceave perfytely that the fynale faule of his howse was at hand, which cowld not be shoonnyd nether by pollycy nor powre humane; suche perchance was the will of God; for therle of Warweke and his frindes, for the speciall ayd, defence, and preservation of king Henry alone, objected ther parsons to perill, consumyd ther substance, as men assuryd so long as king Edward lyvyd that nether they nor king Henry could beare the sway, and yeat, being in ther handes, they sufferyd him to escape. Thus may we see that whan our causes ar utterly to decay,

E. 4 taken by nighte and sent to Mydlham Castle in Yorksh.

E. 4 escaped out of prisone.

soometyme feare, soometyme folyshe hardynes, soomtime madnes, soomtyme melancholy, bereaveth us of all wyt, sense, and understanding.

But king Edward, being thus delyveryd from thand of his enemyes, got himself incontynent to York, wher he was plausybly receavyd of the cytecynes, and stayed two days in the towne to levy and arme soome force of soldiers; but whan he was not hable to make up ther a mete army, and that he was resolvyd to passe to London throwgh the myddest of his enemyes, he went from thence to Lancaster, wher William Hastinges, his lord chamberlane, than lay. Heare by thayde of this William his powr was augmentyd, wherwithall being furnyshed he cam safe to London; and not to omyt any carefulnes, travale, nor cownsell, that mete was for his availle in this troublesom time, he regardyd nothing more than to wyn agane the frendship of suche noble men as wer now alyenatyd from him, to confyrme the goodwyll of them who wer hovering and unconstant, and to reduce the mynde of the multytude, being browght by these innovations into a murmooring and dowbtfulnes what to do, unto ther late obedyence, affection, and goodwill towardes him. But whan therle of Warweke and the duke understood that king Edward was escapyd by trechery of ther owne folkes, and that all ther former practyses wer in a moment commyd to nought, they ragyd, fretyd, and fumyd extremely, and by and by assemblyng togytheres ther noblemen, they enteryd into conference agane, searchyng owt the pollycy and dryft of ther enemys, that they myght enterpryse ther warres of new, which when the king was taken they thowght to have bene fynysshed. These princes wer muche encoragyd because very many who lyked better of discord than of peace offeryd to serve frely in this new warre. The king also made preparation for the lyke with no lesse diligence than his enemyes, ether to bring home into unytie and obedyence or utterly to destroy his adversaryes, that

all men might once at the last lyve as for them in tranquyllyty and peace.

Thus was the state of the realme, by reason of intestyne hatryd and dyvysyon emongst the nobles, most myserable, for churches and houses wer every wher spoylyd, swoord and fyre ragyd all over, the realme was wholy replenyssed with harnesse and weapon, and slaughter, bloode, and lamentation; the feildes wer wastyd, towne and cytie stervyd for hunger, and many other mischiefes happenyd, which procede commonly from the rage of warres; for which causes many of the nobylytie pytyed the ruyne of the commonwelth, and therefore delte diligently as well with the king as with therle of Warweke and the duke for reconciliation, perswading soomtymes thone, soomtymes thother, rather to revolve with themselfes thankfully the benyfytes receavyd than wrothfully to revenge the late injuryes and to caule to remembrance that seeing yt ys an heynous offence not to releve owr parentes, muche more is yt detestable to subvert and by contentyon to ruynate our countre, the common parent of all, seking, by these meanes, to take owt of the way and fynally once abolishe this intestine deadly dyvision. Both thauthorytie and also intreatie of the nobylytie so movyd the mynde of the king and earle, that, uppon mutuall promise of assurance made, the earle himself and the duke of Clarence came to London, gardyd with a sclender crew of soldyers in respect of so great danger, and had at Westmynster long talke with the king concerning composytion; but both parties wer so replenyshyd with ire, that in thend nothing touching peace could be concludyd; and so the king went to Canterbury to vysyte the shryne of Saint Thomas, for performance of his vow. The earle and duke departyd to Warweke, and in Lincolnshyre preparyd a new army, wherof he made captane Robert Welles knight, soone of Richerd Wells, an expert and valyant man of warre. The newys hereof wer caryed spedely to London, wherwithall the king

The duke of Clarence and E. of Warwicke came to London to treate with the king of peace, but nothing done.

Roberte Welles, captene of the duke and E. armye.

was vehemently moovyd, whose hope was his enemyes wold rather condiscend to soome maner conditions of peace than any more to make warre; but the more the rumore therof encreasyd, contrary to his expectation, the more spedyly dyd he muster owt and levy an armye, and incontynent sent sundry and often messages for Rycherd Welles to repare unto him. Wherunto Richard first excusyd himself by reason of debylytie, want of helth, and other busynesses; afterward, when his excuse wold not be admyttyd, he rode to London, and browght with him Thomas Dymmok, knight, who had maryed his sister; but having intelligence ther by his frindes that the king was highly offendyd with him, he fled in hast as a man in great feare with the sayd Thomas into the saintuary at Westmynster, meaning ther to tary untill the kinges ire should be asswagyd. Kyng Edward, who hopyd to suppresse this uprore without force of armes, gave his fayth and promyse for ther safetyes, and caulyd them unto him owt of sayntuary. They uppon the kings promyse cam; than the king commandyd Rychard to will his soone Robert to leave of the warre, and, in the meane time having his forces in readyness, marched on agaynst his enemyes, leading with him the sayd Rycherd and Thomas; and whan he cam within two days journey of the towne of Stamfoorth, wher the camp of his enemyes lay, he understood that Robert, nothing moovyd with his father's letters, contynewyd styll in armes; whereat, taking great indignation, he caused as well the sayd Richerd as Thomas, contrary to fayth and promyse geaven, and to the woorst example that might be, to have ther heades stryke of from ther showlders. But whan Robert perceavyd the king approche, and understoode that his father, with Thomas aforesayd, wer executyd, he withdrew himself to the next village caulyd Edgecote; ther he stoode a whyle in dowt whether he showld fyght or no, because yt was a matter of great hazard to fight with so great forces before therle of Warwekes arryvall; but at the last,

Richard Welles and Thomas Dymock fled to London.

Richerd Wells and Tho. Dimocke behedded.

The batle of Edgcote; the kinge wone the feeld, and tooke Robarte Welles and Thomas Delalaunde and shortly after cutt off their heades.

uppon confydence of youthly corage, he arrayed his host furthwith and came into the fielde. The fyght was mayntaynyd certane howres with great devoyr, many being killyd on both sydes; in thend, while that Robert travaleth with earnest affection to kepe his men in order, beinge came at the poynte to fly, he was envyronyd of his enemyes and taken, togethers with Thomas de la land, knight, and many others; after whose apprehensyon all tharmy was dryven bak and dyscomfytyd. Whan the king had gotten this victory, he put to death by and by the said Robert and Thomas, and dyvers others. The report ys that abowt x^{M}. men were kylled in that conflict.

Delalante.

The earle of Warweke who was than at hys owne towne abouteward to come very shortly unto the camp, after he had intellygence that battayle was joignyd sooner than he wold have wenyd, and that his partie had the overthrow, nowtwithstanding he had smaule confydence in his affayres, yeat thowght he yt necessary to dissemble the matter, for that often times in the warres dissimulation serveth the turne better than plane dealing; wherfor to thintent he might mynyster occasion of comforth to his company, being in utter despere, and eaven at the poynt of flight, not by woord only, but also by soome matter in deede, he began therfor busyly to prepare new supply, and laboryd withall to induce, by many fayre promyses, Thomas lord Stanley to be of his faction; which when he could not compasse, seeing that Thomas flatly denayed to beare armes agaynst king Edward, than fynally seinge yt was to no purpose to wast any more tyme, and despearying that he should be hable to cownter the force of his enemyes, he, with the duke of Clarence, his soone in law, departyd to Excester, and, whyle he stayed ther a few days, having no store of suche thinges as wer mete for the warre, he resolvyd to go unto Lewys the Frenche king, as soone as might bee, whose frendship he had gotten a few yeres before, the whyle he lay with him as ambassa-

Thomas lord Stanley refused to joyne with the earle of Warwick.

The duke & the earle of Warwick flye into France.

dor, uppon hope ether to get ayd of him, or els incense him agaynst king Edward; and in the meane time he hyryd for that voyage shippes on every syde wher he could get them, causing them to be brought into the haven caulyd Dertmouth, which shippes not long after he furnysshyd with artillery and other thinges necessary, and therin they two, with ther wyfes and great number of ther retynew, saylyd with the first fayre wynde into Normandy, wher the lyvetenant of that regyon entertaynyd them honorably, and anon advyrtysd king Lewys of therle of Warwekes arryval. King Lewys had already the earle of Warwyke in so great admyration for the fame of his noble actes, as that he wisshid nothing more than to gratify the man; wherfor, understanding that he was landyd in France, he sent with great rejoysing certane noble men to mete him, and commandyd them to say unto the earle, that he had long wisshyd occasion wherby to helpe him, and the same now offeryd he wold not omyt, requyring therfor him, with the duke his soone, to take the paine to coome unto him at Amboyse (that is a maner of the kinges, sytuate uppon the ryver of Loire), for the matter showld so faule owt as they should never repent them of that travaille. This flight of therle of Warweke happenyd in the ixth yeere of king Edwardes raigne, and of man's salvation M.cccclxx^{tie}. King Edwardes care was much aug- 1470.
mentyd by reason of the flight of his adversaryes, for that thabsence of therle causyd all men to long dayly more and more to se him agane, as men who thowght themselfes bereft of the soone in this world; so famous was the name of this man amongest the commonaltie as that they had nothing in more reputatyon, extollyd nothinge with more highe commendation. What shall we say to that, the common people had none other song in ther mouths whan so ever they wer disposyd publykly to make disport and be mery. Wherby yt came to passe that therles faction was within few days augmentyd woonderfully. Wherfor the king was

vexid two maner of ways, for he fearyd his enemy both abrode and at home; but princypally he thowght yt mete to beware of therles returne. And therfor, with all spede possyble, he sent messengers to Charles duke of Burgoigne, who (as we have before shewyed) had maryed his sister Margaret, requyring him, for that he was in league with the Frenche, to advyse king Lewys not to ayde, nether with men nor money, therle of Warwycke and duke of Clarence, enemyes to king Edward his felow in amytie, and by most sure bond of affynytie his allye. Duke Charles dyd not onely accomplishe the same request owt of hand, but also threatenyd king Lewys if he showld assist them. But the Frenche king thowght those woordes so lyttle to be regardyd, as indeed he dyd contemne them, awnswering therunto, that he both might, without breache of league, and wold also ayd his frindes, and especyally those who wer famouse for ther noble factes, of which company the earle of Warwicke was one, the doing wherof should be nether cost nor charge to the duke. When the newys hereof was browght into England, they mayd kinge Edward very sadde, and browght him muche more cause of care, in so muche that by examynation and torture of them who wer in warde he sought owt dylygently who wer frindes to his adversaryes; by occasion wherof yt came to passe that right many, fearing the woorst, partly fled into sayntuary, partly submyttyd themselves to the king; of this number was John marquise Montacute, who yealdyd agane, and gave himself upp wholy to the frendship and partie of king Edward, whome he receavyd with muche curtesy and in the fayrest maner, to thintent he might therby allure the hartes and amytie of others.

Messengers sent to Charles duke of Burgoyne to perswade the king of France [not] to ayde them.

Divers noble men, for feare of the king, fledd to sanctuary.

In this meane whyle therle of Warwicke and the duke rode to Amboyse, for the seing of whom all the way as he went people resortyd in great number, so muche frequentyd was the fame of this nobleman, yea emongest the Frenche men. Whan he cam thyther

he was curtesly and sumptuously receavyd of king Lewys, unto whom he, by long discours, discoveryd the cause of his cooming. King Lewys, no lesse enamoryd and delighted with the presence of his frind than before with his renownyd fame, promysyd that he showld want nothing wherwithall he was hable to help him.

Not long after arryvyd ther also Margarete, wyfe to king Henry, with Edward hir soone, prince of Wales, Jaspar earle of Pembrowghe, and John earle of Oxfoord, who a lytle before had passyd over to quene Margarete. Heare, after they had conferryd of many matters touching ther owne safty, they grew finally, by meane of king Lewys, to the maner of making a league. Fyrst of all, Anne dowghter to therle of Warwick, whom he had browght over with him, was affyancyd to prince Edward; after that, the earle and duke promysyd by othe not to surcease the warres before the kingdom of England showld be restoryd to kinge Henry or Edward his soone; fynally, the quene and prince swore to make therle and duke protectors of the commonwelth, so long to contynew that office till the prince showld be mete and fytt by himself to undertake that charge; and all these thinges they promysyd in most religyouse and devout maner to kepe inviolate. Many moe condytions wer entreatyd uppon emongest them, which both the reason and weyght of the cause requyryd. This league thus concludyd, king Lewys grantyd to thearle of Warwick armor, men, and navy, wherwithall being furnisshed he might the safelyer repare into England. Also Rhenate, quene Margaretes father, helpyd the same what he myght. Now was ther musteryd and apoyntyd an army of no smaule account; the navy lay ready at anchore in the mouth of Seyne, when as the earle receavyd letters from his frindes in England, signyfying that the people unyversally throwghout the realme dyd so muche looke, hope, and long for his returne into England that they wer already every wher in armes, awayting his

Queene Margarete & the prince, with Jasper E. of Penbroke, & Jo. E. of Oxford arrived in France.

Upon a league agreed, Anne, da. to the E. of Warwick, affianced to prince Edward.

arryvall, willing him therfor to make haste, yea thowghe yt wer withowt any army, for as soone as he showld set foote a land many thowsands of men wold repare to hym thyther furthwith, (as afterward happenyd in dede) to folow his direction in all poyntes, and that the comons wer wholy thus affectyd; yea moreover that many noble men also wer right ready to mynyster money, munytion and mayntenance of vyctwall to that warre, and with hand and hart to help the same. Whan the erle had receavyd those letters he was woonderus glad, and, determynyng not to omyt so great possybylytie of well dooing, when quene Margarete with her soon could not be as yeat ready for that voyage, he and the duke with the erles of Oxfoord and Pembrough determynyd with part of the host and navy to go before and geave the first adventure, which yf yt should well succede, than the quene with the prince might follow after. Therle of Warwicke therfor, thinking the matter was to be delt in withowt delay and put in execution furthwith, after that he had extollyd as muche as he could with most humble thankes the benyfyte of king Lewys towardes king Henry and himself, and was permyttyd by the king to depart, came, togyther with the duke and other his assocyates, unto his navy, and shipping his men directyd his course into England. During this season Charles duke of Burgoigne, grevyd in mynde that thearle, having receavyd ayd of the Frenche king, should conduct an army against king Edward, dyd dispose alongest the coste of Normandy a great navy of ships to intercept him by the way; but therle, without any damage receavyd by the dukes navy, arryvyd with his company safe in the haven of Dertmouth, from whence six months before he had transportyd into France. Whan his people wer set on land, he causyd proclamatyon to be made in the name of king Henry the sixt, that all men, who might for age, showld arme themselves agaynst Edward duke of York, who presently contrary to right and law usurpyd the kyngdom: wher-

The E. of Warwick and his companye arrived out of France.

uppon yt ys uncredible to speake how quickly the brute of therles arryvall was spred throwght all partes of the land, and at the fyrst newys therof, what thowsands of armyd men came to him at once. Whan therle was furnysshed with so great forces, he marchyd towardes London. But when king Edward knew of therles approche he was presently past all hope of habylytie to defend himselfe; and, therfor, supposing yt best to reserve thuttermost of hys devoyr untill soome better time to coome, he myndyd not the levying of an army wherwith to withstand his adversaryes, but, carefull for his owne safty, went with Richerd his broother duke of Glocester unto Lynne, a toune uppon the sea coaste, and, ther fynding a ship ready to make sayle and passe the seas, he saylyd into Flanders to duke Charles with a rowghe and tempestuouse gale of wynde, and for that not without great danger of lyfe. Elyzabeth his wyfe, great with chylde at the same time, fled into Westminster and ther tooke sayntuary, wher she brought forth a soone whom she cawlyd Edward. When the flying of king Edward was knowen abrode, therle made more haste, and without all resystance came to London, and set the cyty in peace, trubblyd as than with a commotion of the Kentishemen, who abowt the tyme of kinge Edwardes departure had spoylyd the suburbs; for which benyfyt he was more welcome to all men. From thence he went to the towr, and delyveryd king Henry owt of pryson, whom he browght in his royall apparell throwghe the middest of the cytye, accompanyed first with Richard Lee, lord mayre of the towne, and the two shyryffes, Robert Draper and Richard Gardener, than with the whole cowncell of the cytie, unto the chirche of St. Paule, the people on the right and left hand rejoysing with clapping of hands, and crying, God save king Henry. And then for thys good successe, which happenyd according to his hartes desyre, therle gave thankes to God. This yere wherin king Henry was restoryd to his kingdom was of our salvation M.CCCC.LXXI.

Kinge E. 4 and Ric. his brother fled into Flaunderes.

Elyzabethe wyfe to E. 4, fled to the sanctuarye.

H. 6 sette at lybertye out of the towre.

The second Raigne of H. 6.

Thus king Henry, so often before conqueryd, begann agane to raigne, and after these doinges abowt the 6th calendes of December held a parlyament at Westmynster; wherin first of all king Edward was proclaymd traytor to his countre, because he had usurpyd the crowne, and all his possessions wer confyscate; lyke sentence was geaven uppon all them who tooke his parte, and also yt was enacted that all such captyves as wer of his faction should suffer condigne punysshement. Moreover, all thinges decreyd, enactyd, and doone by king Edward were abrogatyd. Lastely, therle of Warwicke, as one who had well deservyd of his country, was mayd protector of the realme, with whom was joynyd in commission the duke of Clarence. Thus was the state of the commonwelth alteryd and becoome new. John marquyse Montacute came to that parlyament, who, purgying his fawlt by long discours that his late inclyning to king Edwardes syde was for feare of lyfe onely, obtayned pardon that as he dyd the same unwillingly, so he should never afterward do his frinds good, for yf he had stand fast with king Edward lesse harme undoutydly showld he have doone being an open enemy than a faynyd frynd, seing that the thynges we beeware of very seldome or not muche annoy. But quene Margaret every day, after that day wherin therle of Warwicke departyd into England, trublyd in mynde with incertane expectation of thevent, ceassyd not to preay humbly unto God for victory; wherof fynally, after intellygence had by letters from hir husband, she anon after with Edward hir soone tooke shipping, and assayd to sayle into England. But because the wynter was sharp and stormy, she was by force of tempest dryven bak agane unto the land, and constreynyd to differre hir voyage unto an other time. During the same season Jaspar earle of Pembrowghe returnyd into Wales to his earledome, wher he fownd Henry, soone to his brother Edmund earle of Richemond, not fully x. yeres owld, kept as prysoner, but honorably browght up with

Jo. marques Mountague pardoned.

Henry E. of Richmond broughte up in Wales.

the wyfe of William Harbert, who (as we have before remembryd) had bene by king Edward created earle of Pembrowghe, and after taken in battaylle was by commandment of therle of Warwicke beheadyd. This chylde dyd his mother Margaret, thonely dowghter of John first duke of Soomerset, bring foorth whan she was scarse xiiij[ten] yeres owld, who thowghe afterward she maryed to Henry soone to Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and thirdly to Thomas earle of Darby, yeat never had any mo chyldren, as one thinking yt sufficient for hir to have browght into this world one onely, and suche a soone. And so Jaspar tooke the boy Henry from the wyfe of the lord Harbert, and browght him with himself a lyttle after whan he cam to London unto king Henry. Whan the king saw the chylde, beholding within himself without speache a prety space the haultie disposition therof, he ys reportyd to have sayd to the noble men ther present, 'This trewly, this is he unto whom both we and our adversaryes must yeald and geave over the domynion.' H. 6 prognosticated the succes of H. 7.

Thus the holy man shewyd yt woold coome to passe that Henry showld in time enjoy the kingdom.

In this very yeare (that I may remember in dew place the thing which above in my ix[th]. booke I sayd that I would not omyt) Sixtus the iiij[th]. bysshopp of Rome, advertysyd from James the iii[d]. king of Scotland that the bysshops therof had no prymate whom they might consult concerning religion, by reason of the cyvill warres in England, and being requyryd to provyde as mete was for the same, did creat the bisshop of saint Andrewys prymate of all Scotland, that, by reason of tumultes both intestyne and forreyn which often arose betwene both nations, the bisshops themselfes should not be sayd to want an head; althowgh Richerd Nevell archbysshop of York made muche labor to the contrary. And to the sayd prymate he made subject the bysshopps of Glasco, Rosse, Brechen, Donkell, Doumblane, Aberdeyn, Cathanes, Galloway, Thyles, *Candidæ-casæ, Lismorensem, Sodorensem.*

Moray, Orchaney, and Sodorne. This bysshops see was placyd in thile of Man, which ys thowght to be of the diocesse of York.

Whyle these thinges were doing otherwher, king Edward, thowgh he wer owt of his country, yeat dyd he not despeare but to have shortly a very fyt and convenyent time for recovery agane of the kingdome; for partly the duke of Burgoigne promysyd him great ayd, partly he was laboryd dayly to returne by letters and messengers from those of his faction; and contynually right many, ether for feare of lawys, or for envye of the present state, and desyrus of lybertye to lyve as them lyst, fled to him owt of England, urging him more and more to that journey. With these fayre promyses king Edward was so insensyd that he thowght yt shame to tary one day longer, and covetyd nothinge more than to fly over in all hast; wherfor whan he had gatheryd togythers scarce two thowsand men, and preparyd a few shipps, at the beginning of the spring he transportyd into England, and arryvyd uppon the coaste of Yorkeshyre at an haven caulyd Ravensporne. Heare, setting his men on land, he consultyd with his captanes whyther he might first go, for, consydering his smaule number of soldiers, he cowld not conceave which way to passe in saftie sufficient. After long consultation they thowght yt best to send owt certane light horsemen abrode into the cowntrye adjoyning, to try the good will of the rurall people, whether they wold ryse with king Edward or no. These men rode furth and dyd ther dewtie with great diligence. Trewly yt ys not lyke that king Edward, being a wyse man, wold have enterprysyd to enter England with so smaule forces except he had knowen to receave great help owt of hand; by which reason, yt ys not to be dowtyd but the duke of Clarence was even than secretly reconcylyd unto him, and that the marquyse also Montacute was becoome his partaker, wherof afterward the shew was evydent. But the scurryers, who wer sent to fele as far as might bee how the people wer affectyd, returnyd the next

E. 4 arived again in England.

George duke of Clarence and John marques Montague adheare to E. 4.

day folowing unto king Edward, and made report that all the cowntrye ther held firmly with king Henry, and that yt should be but in vane to labor them any further, for thowghe they had bene earnestly in hand with many to joigne with him, yeat not one man durst enter in any talk therof for feare of therle of Warwick. Which whan king Edward knew he alteryd hys purpose of necessytie, and wher at the first he made report that he demandyd the crowne, now he causyd yt to be blowen abrode that he sowght onely for his dukedom of Yorke, to thintent that by this reasonable and rightewouse request he might get more favor at all handes. And yt ys incredible to be spoken how great effect that feygnyd matter was of, suche ys the force of righteuousnes generally among all men; for whan they herd that king Edward myndyd nothing lesse than to require the kingdom, and sowght simply for his inherytance, they began to be movyd ether for pyty to favor him, or at the leest not to hinder him at all from thattayning of that dukedome. Thus, having fownd owt the meane how to mollyfye or gather unto him the good will of the people, king Edward purposyd to go to York, and went first to Beverley. Whan therle of Warwycke, who at those very days lay at Warwycke, had intelligence that king Edward was returnyd into England, and marchyd towardes Yorke, he sent letters by post streight way to his broother Montacute, who had wynteryd at Powntfrayt with no smaule army of soldiers, certyfying him how great the danger was if thenemy showld attayne York, and commandyng him ether to mete and fyght with him by the way, or to stay his passage unto suche time as he himselfe showld shortly coome with more forces, which he was gatheryng with all dylygence. And because he was not sure by which part of Yorkshyre his enemyes wold journey, therfor first he sent perfyte woord by post, and commandment in the kings name to every particuler towne of York-

shire, and than to Yorke ytself, that all men should be in armes, and to shutt the gates agaynst king Edward.

E. 4 came towards Yorke.

In the meane season king Edward approchid York withowt resistance, which whan the cytecyns knew, they, by and by, taking weapon in hand came to defend the gates, and sent two chyefe men of the cytye to mete and requyre him in all ther names not to coome any nearer, nor to object himself to hazard, for they wer amyndyd to repulse him all maner of ways by force of armes. Whan king Edward had herd the messengers he was no lyttle trubblyd in mynde, and these thinges molestyd him most of all, least, yf he should retyre, the country people would pursew him for desyre of spoyle; again, yf he should procede, that the cytecynes sallying owt wold coompasse him rownd abowt; wherfor supposing yt best not to deale by vyolence, but in most curtes maner, he most hartely besechyd the messengers to say unto the cytecynnes in his name that he came not to demand the crowne of England, but his awncyent inherytance of the dukedome of York, and therfor requyryd them to assyst ther duke, who, yf he might by ther good help recover the same, he wold never ferget the benyfyt therof; and so with fayre speaches he dismyssyd them home, and wythall drew nere to the gates in good order of battaill. The cytecynes wer soomwhat softenyd with king Edwardes aunswer, for that he semyd, as he sayd, to purpose no practyse agaynst king Henry; and therfor they commounyd with him from the waule, requyring him to depart, which yf he wold do withowt delay they affirmyd he showld receave no damage; yf he wold not, they tould him he was in danger of his lyfe. But he gave curtesse speaches to every of tholder men and rewlers by name, cawling them worshippfull and grave magistrates, he made them many fayre promyses, and besowght them to suffer him to be safe in his owne towne. Thus the whole day almost was spent in this

parley; at the last the cytecynes, uppon hope of benyfyt so bountyfully promysed, came to composytion, that yf king Edward wold geave his othe to entertayne the cytecynes curtesly, and from thencefoorth to be obedient and faythfull to king Henry, they wold both receave him into the towne and helpe him to ther powre. With these condytions king Edward was joyfully contentyd, so that the next day very early in the morning, *whyle a pryest sayd masse* at the gate wherby he was to enter the towne, he *emong the holy mysteryes* promysyd by othe, devoutly and reverently, to observe both two, and so he was receavyd into the towne; who, notwithstanding, was so farre from having any minde to observe thone (according as furthwith after appearyd evydent) that he resolvyd to regard eaven nothing more than to persecute king Henry, and to thrust him from the possession of his kingdom. Thus oftentimes as well men of highe as of low cawling blyndyd with covetousnes, and forgetting all religyon and honesty, ar woont to make promyse in swearing by thimmortal God, which promyse neverthelesse they ar already determynyd to breake before they make yt. Of this matter yt shall not yrk me to make mentyon in the lyfe of king Richerd the third in place convenyent, wher perchaunce yt may be well conceavyd that thissew of king Edward did partycypate also the fault of this perjury. The stere of the people thus pacyfyed, king Edward enteryd into York, and, all memory of his othe put apart, he fortyfyed the towne with garryson, least any innovation might grow therin; he also augmentyd his forces, and whan they wer ready, hearing that his adversaryes wer slow in ther dealings, he supposyd yt so muche the more necessary for him to make hast, wherfor he set forward towardes London, and, omytting of purpose the right way that ledeth to Pountfreyt, wher we have before sayd that the lord Montacute with an host lay, he turnyd owt towardes the right hand scarce fowre myles from the camp of his enemyes,

Facta per sacerdotem re divina inter sacra.

E. 4 tooke an oathe which he mente to breake.

which whan he had passyd without any head mayd agaynst him by thenemy, he returnyd into the right way agane, a lyttle beyond the place of ther camp, and marchyd furth to Notingham. But this heynous fact of king Edward muche moved the cytecyns of York to anguyshe and sorow, for they wer ashamyd to have bene deceavyd so pretyly, I will not say unhonestly.

But whan yt was brutyd abrode that king Edward was coomyd to Notingham without any domage receavyd, than the chief and headesmen every wher began to revolt to him, as they who thowght that ether the marquyse wold not set uppon his enemyes because he held with them, ether els that he durst not marche out of his camp because he was inferyor to them in force, and therfor they demyd yt more safe to joigne with king Edward, being now furnished with a mayne army, than with danger to defend the quarell of king Henry. King Edward also encoragyd with this successe removyd his camp quickly to Leycester, wher he had intelligence that therle was at Warweke, and that John earle of Oxforth was coomyd thyther to him with a large company of soldyers, both two to make head agynst him; who, thinking to prevent that matter, determynyd to depart thyther with his whole hoste, hoping ether to encounter with them in the field, ether els to joigne with his broother duke of Clarence, whom he thought to mete soomwher, as he was alreadie on his way marching with an army from London, before he showld coome unto his late confederates, least otherwyse he might be brought from the mynde he was now in, because he knew the duke was not very constant. The erle of Warweke trewly was in the meane tyme heavy in hert, and much trubblyd, that wheras he had polytykly provydyd for all thinges, yeat the marquise had not onely not reparyd thyther wher his enemyes began first to raise forces, according as he had bene advisyd, but also had sufferyd them with so smaule powre to passe by him unfowghten withall. Wherfor that he might in time convenient

joigne battaille with thenemy, who as a ryver augmentyd his forces in going, he gathereth powr for every hand, and causeth the duke of Clarence to be sent for in all hast, who was levying an army at London. But whan he perceavyd the duke to linger, and do all things negligently as a man dowtfull whether it wer warre or peace, eaven than suspectyng that he was corruptyd by his broothers; he marchyd forward with his forces furthwith unto Coventry, to thintent he might encounter thenmy as he came. Emong these matters king Edward came to Warwicke, and took yt, being voyd of garrison; from thence he marchyd agaynst the erle, and encampyd himself nigh unto him, and the next day after his arryvall ther he browght furth his men in battaille array, and offeryd therle the feylde, who, suspecting himself to be betrayed by the duke, as we have before sayd, kept within the waules; and in this meane whyle woord was browght that the duke himself was at hand with an huge army; which when king Edward understoode, he raisyd his camp and went to mete the duke. Howbeyt, because yt showld not seme soome suttle practyse concludyd betwixt them two, he marchid in good order of battaylle, as one that myndyd to fight. The duke dyd the lyke. But whan they came within view thone of thother, Richerd duke of Glocestre, as thowghe he had bene apoyntyd arbyter of all controversy, first conferryd secretly with the duke; than he returnyd to king Edward, and dyd the very same with him. Fynally, not warre but peace was in every mans mouth; than, armor and weapon layd apart uppon both sydes, the broothers gladly embracyd one an other.

E. 4 surprises the town of Warwicke.

E. 4 and George duke of Clarence meete and joyne together.

After this king Edward commandyd proclamation to be made in the same place, that the duke and his adherents should be frely pardonyd for ever. They thought good also to move the earle of Warwick to revolt, unto whom the duke had sent of his fryndes certane noble men, first to excuse his fact, than to exhort him that he would, whyle he might, make soome composytion with king

E. 4 at the same time published by proclamation the same agreem^{t}.

Edward. Whan therle had herd the duke's message, first he accursyd and cryed owt uppon him, that, contrary to his faith and promise geaven, he had in suche shamefull maner fled unto king Edward. Than, as touching his message, he gave none other awnswer but that he had rather be lyke himself than a false duke, and that therfor he wold not surcease the warre tyll ether he had lost his lyfe or wer revengyd uppon his ennemyes. From thence king Edward, having his forces thus mightyly encreasyd, set forward with assuryd confydence towards London, whyther whan the newys came that the duke of Clarence was reconcylyd to his broothers, and they altogyther wer a coomming to the cytie, suche trembling feare moovyd the cytecynes as that they knew not which way to turne them; but within a while the very same causyd them inclyne to king Edwardes syde. Abowt the same time came letters from therle to king Henry, to Edmund duke of Soommerset, to tharchbisshop of York, and others of the kinges cownsell, that they wold have regard to kepe the cytie in obedience two or thre days after the coomming of thadversaryes, for he wold in the meane time be ther with a mayne army to releve them. But John Stokton, knight, lord mayre of the towne, with John Crosby, and an other John, Warde by surname, cauling togythers at that very instant into the yeald haule the cownsayll of the towne, began to delyberate emongst themselves whether partie they had best take. In thend, whan they consyderyd that king Henry was suche a man as by himself cowld not very well governe the commonwelth, agane, that king Edward was wont to rewle the realme not after others but after his owne direction, and was suche a parsonage as cowld defend both himself and his from injury, they all agreyd to hold with him; which whan yt was knowen, the common sort, desirous of noveltie, as soone as they herd of king Edwardes approche, cowld not be holden bak, but they wold goe lustly to mete him, and to salute him in the way by the name of king. The duke of

Summerset and others of that faction, every man shyftyd for himself; but king Henry was, as a sacryfyce to be offeryd, left alone in the bysshops howse besides Powles, and ther, ignorant what way to take, as a man amazyd and utterly dullyd with trubbles and adversitie, was taken by king Edward and commyttyd agane to ward. King Edward entryd London the iij^{d}. ides of Aprill, syx monthes after that he had transportyd into Flanders, and assembling the people togythers did first greatly commend the loyaltie of the cytecynes, and gave specyall thankes to the magistrates that they had conteynyd the people in obedience; he dyd also vehemently rebuke with many woordes dyvers others, whether they wer cytecynes or merchant strangers, whom he knew to have geaven money to king Henry for levying of an army, and greatly complanyd of ther offences; fynally, he willyd every man to be withowt feare, and pronouncyd free pardon of ther infirmyties, by which mylde dealyng he muche bound to him the myndes of the multytude. H. 6 takene by E. 4 in London.

Therle in the meane time, seing thevent of the whole battaille to consyst in celerytie, marchyd great journeys after his enemyes, to thintent that, yf they wer hinderyd throwgh any occasion by the way (as he hopyd they should be), than he might fyght with them before they should coome to London, which to do he thowght was of great importance; for he was not ignorant how that towne, being nether sufficyently vyttaylyd nor entrenchyd with any fortyfycation, was not hable to abide a siege, and therfor woont for the most part to yeald to the conqueror. And thus when he was already well forward in his journey, he herd that king Edward had enteryd London, and had cast king Henry agane in pryson; wherfor conceaving than the whole matter to be browght of necessytie unto this ende, that all thinges must fynally be committyd to thevent of one feilde, he stayd at Saint Albones, partly to refreshe the soldiers, partly to delyberate more depely uppon the cause.

Ther was in the army John duke of Excester, an other John earle of Oxfoorth, Edmund duke of Soommerset, and the third John marquise Montacute, brother to therle, whom therle himself perceavyd well now to serve in this warre agaynst his owne mynde, and therfor knew not how muche he might trust unto him, but the brootherlie loove tooke away almost all suspycion; howbeyt, whatsoever he conceavyd of him or others, himself alone above the rest without all feare determynyd to go agaynst his ennemyes, and so departing from Saint Albones came unto a village in the myd way betwixt Saint Albones and the cytie of London, and xne myles from the cytie ytself, which they caule Barnet. This village ys sytuate uppon an hill, in the top wherof ys a place fyt for daraignyng of battayll. Heare the erle encampyd himself and abode his enemyes. Whan the rumor of therles approche was browght to London, king Edward musteryd owt incontynent a new army of most hable yowthes adjoyning the same to thoste which he had browght with him a little before unto the cytie; also he sowght for new supply from every hand; he preparyd afreshe for armor, weapon, and all other furnyture of warre; to be short, he applyed this matter with hart and hand to thuttermost of his powre, as the thing which he hopyd should make an end of all his travales and tormoyles. Thus furnished with an huge hoste he set forward agaynst his enemyes, and to thintent that, yf nede requyryd, he might be readyer to fyght whersoever he showld fynde them, he marchyd on in square battayle: he had with him also king Henry as captyve, for that purpose peradventure that his enemyes seing in the fight ther king prysoner showld be more throwghly afeard, or els, if the battaille showld go against him, that by king Henryes meane he might be safe. He came in this order after the myddest of the day uppon the hill at Barnet, and ther encampyd himself not farre from his enemyes, wher, because he wold not be constraynyd to joigne battaille that night, he sod-

The battle at Barnete.

danely entrenchid himself with new fortyfycations; for to prolonge the time was for his advantage, seing that muche ayd came to him from every hand; the same was on thother syde hurt to his enemyes, for they being farr from ther fryndes had no hope in new supplyes; yeat both the hostes contynewed all the night in harnes, for, by reason of the nighnes of ther tentes, the noyse and nighing of man and horse was so great that nether army durst geave yt self to rest. But whan the day began to breake, therle of Warweke thus arayed hys armye: he placyd the marquyse his brother and therle of Oxfoorth with part of thorsemen in the lyft wyng; himselfe with the duke of Excester held the right; in the myddest, betwixt both two, wer the archers, wherof the duke of Soommerset had the government. Whan his soldyers wer in this order, he than with many woordes exhortyd them to fyght manfully, to be of valyant and prompt corage, and to remember that they wer to fyght for lyberty of ther country agaynst a tyrant who had wickydly invadyd the royall seat. King Edward dyd the same, who also, after that he had orderyd all his owne forces, seing yeat an huge company of soldiers remane (for as muche as noble men assemblyd continually to gratifye him), gatheryd moreover all that multitude togythers, to make supply as nede should requyre, who, being arrayed in order of battayll, he encoragyd with many perswations, rehersing that he had browght them to fyght agaynst seditious parsons, who sowght nothing els but dissension emong all men, the bloode and slawghter of ther countrymen, and thutter ruyne of ther country. So after yt began to be light day, thalarm being sowndyd on ether partie, the battaile was begun: first they fought with arrow afur of, and aftirward with swoordes hand to hand. King Edward, trusting to the multitude, wherin he farre excedyd thother partie, pressyd on earnestly. Therle, remembryng his renowmyd vertew and prowesse, resystyd valyantly. Thus the fyght was myghtyly mayntayned on both sydes; many wer slane

every wher, whose rowmes freshe men dyd ever of new supply. In this tyme, whylest all men, myndyng busyly the fyght, expectyd the event, therle, after long conflict, perceavyng his partie to be oppressyd with multytude, relyved them who fowght in the first front with a troup of light horsemen, and causyd thenemy soomwhat to geave ground; which whan king Edward saw, he sent furthwith others to succor them. Than was the fyght renewyd with greater slawghter than any time before. Now had the battayll dowtfully contynewyd from early in the morning till almost noone, whan king Edward, whom yt yrkyd that the conflict should last any longer, commandyd the forces which he had hovering owt of the mayne battaille, to geave charge uppon thennemy. But therle of Warwicke, seing the supply of his enemyes enter into the battayll, was therwith no whyt dismayd, but, in great confydence and hope of victory, most earnestly exhortyd, vehemently encoragyd, and hartyly desyryd hys soldiers, thowghe very weary, yet now to abyde this last brunt with valyant corage, crying now and than emong that the battayll was at an end: howbeyt, when they, overtoylyd with long labor, wer nothing almost styrryd up with these woordes, he, with invincible corage, made way emongest the myddest of his enemyes, wher, whyle he entryd unadvysydly, beating down and killing thennemy, farre from his owne forces, him also was thrust throughe and slane, manfully fyghting, together with the marquise his broother, who folowyd him, having almost the victory in his hand. After therles death the resydew wer put to flyght and killed universally. This end had Richerd erle of Warweke, which, after so many sundry chances, happenyd unto him throwgh haultines of corage long before his tyme by course of yeres. Ther was killyd on both sydes abowt x^{M}. men, and the nomber of captyves so great as by no meane was hable to be rekenyd. Edmund duke of Soomersett, with John erle of Oxfoorth, flying incessantly towardes Scotland, alteryd his purpose

The E. of Warwicke & the marques Montague slayne.

for the length of the way, and got him into Wales to therle of Pembrowghe. Every man shyftyd for himselfe, soome one way, soome another. The duke of Excester also hardly escapyd into the saintuary at Westmynster, and ther kept himself secrete. King Edward, althowgh he got a bloody victory, yeat, lyft up in mynde excedingly with the joy thereof, returnyd to London with captyve king Henry, in most triumphant maner. The dead corses of therle and marquise wer afterward conveyghyd to the same, and sufferyd to ly in coffyns the space of two days in the churche of saint Paule before they wer buryed, that all men might se they wer dead, least the people might be stirryd afterward to new garboyles by any pretensed name of Warweke. But men say that king Edward was not so glad for therle of Warwickes death, but that withall he was right sory for the destructyon of the marquyse, whome, as we have shewyd, he accowntyd his frind.

Q. Margaret arived againe in England.

In the meane time Margaret the quene being advertysyd that, by reason of king Edwardes returning into England, all thinges were agane in trubble, made owt furthwith of choyse soldiers no smaule army, and, together with her soone Edward, contendyd with all spede possible to returne into England; but, Godes will being to the contrary, the wynd and wether wer so agaynst hir as that she arryvyd at an haven caulyd Waymouth later than the matter requyryd. Here, whan she came a land, she understood that king Edward was lord and master ot all, that king Henry hir husband was forsaken and taken, that therle of Warwicke and his broother wer killyd, and that his forces wer partly destroyed, partly scattryd; and, fynally, that a scourge was receavyd most sharp and bitter, as well in respect of the conflict yt self, as of the tyme. Whan she herd these things the myserable woman swownyd for feare; she was distrawght, dismayd, and tormentyd with sorow; she lamentyd the calamyty of the time, the adversity of fortune,

hir owne toyle and mysery; she bewaylyd the unhappy end of king Henry, which now she accowntyd assurydly to be at hand; and, to be short, she so afflictyd hir self as one more desyrus to dy than lyve, foreseing perchance inwardly in mynde woorse matters immynent and hanging over hir head. Than might quene Margaret have caulyd to mynde that these maner myschiefes had chancyd princypally for the death of Humfrey duke of Glocester, of which practise, thowgh percase she wer no partaker, yeat not giltles, because she myght have preservyd that good nobleman; for surely yf that one man had lyvyd and rewlyd the realme, king Henry had never comyd in so many hazards of hys lyfe. Wold to God many wold well weygh the causes of suche eventes, who measure equytee and right according to ther power and will: but I will returne to the matter. Quene Margaret perceaving yt was in vane to provyde for warres, and now almost despearing of hir owne saftye and hir soons, departyd to the next abbay, of the cystertyan order, which ys at a village caulyd Beawlyew, and there tooke sayntuary. The report in the meane time of hir coomming being brutyd abrode, Edmund duke of Soommerset, with John his broother, Thomas Cortney erle of Devonshire (who before had alway been of thother party), Jasper erle of Pembrowgh, John lord Wenlocke, and John Longstroth[r] chief captane of the knightes of Rhodes, met together quikly at Beaulyeu, and went to the quene. The dolefull wooman, seing the noblemen who wer hir frindes, was soomwhat refreshyd in mynde, and, layng feare soomwhat apart, to thintent they showld not think she had doone any thing unadvysdly, she talkyd with them of many matters, and declaryd the cawse why she could not be present in tyme, and what reason movyd her to fly unto that saintwary; beseeching them particularly, fyrst before all other thinges, to provyde for the safetie of hir soon; and, despeyryng utterly to prevayle at this present by force of armes, she thowght yt best to

Queene Margaret & hir soone tooke sanctuary.

Diveres nobles that adheared to Q. Margaret.

sayle againe into France, yf the tyme of yeare, and malice of the meny wold so permyt, and ther to abyde till God should geave better opportunytie to use armes. The duke with thothers, after he had comfortyd the quene with many perswations, began to make a long discourse of the state and condition of warre; and first he thowght that no delay was to be made, least therby themselves showld be weaker, and king Edward becoome stronger, who now had no army in readynes, seing that in the late conflict almost all the yowthly force of that factyon was broken and abatyd; and that he who in the late battayle against therle of Warwicke had had so good successe, might by good reason have the contrary in the war to come, consydering the chance of warre was woont right often to be varyable, eaven at an instant; secondly, he affirmyd that a good part of the nobylytie stoode with king Henry, and that soldyers wold willingly coome to ayde hyr, yf so be that she wold, as she had often, becoome captane agaynst thennemy, and hereunto himself offeryd large forces, and more ample dyd promise in the name of both therles; lastely, after that he had shewyd many reasons why the victory was lyke to be thers, he besowght all men to be of good chere, and, because the matter requyryd haste, to treat no more of the state and condytion therof, but of thenterprising presently the warre yt self. To this the quene, whose care was most not for hir owne but for hir soones safety, and for that tooke great care and thowght, whose owne most provydent mynde gave her that no good wold coome hereof, made awnswer, that she could lyke well of his opynion yf nothing wer to be hazardyd more dere than her owne lyfe; but she suspectyd least, whyle they sowght to succore the decayd case of the commonwelth, the lyfe of prince Edward should be in danger, in whom the whole hope of that howse consystyd, and therfor wisshyd that ether the warre might be put of unto an other time, or that hir soone might be sent into France, ther to be kept safe and secrete, whyle thevent of the first conflict showd fawle out. Treuly the mother had good cause

dylygently to provyde for the lyfe of hir soone, seing that next unto hir husband, whom she accowntyd lost, ther was not unto hir any thing better belovyd, dearer, nor more to hir comfoorth. Thus this most prudent quene requyryd that these princes, polytyk in martiall affayres, would well weygh all these thinges before hand, because, yf afterward they showld think yt mete to commence warre, she wold not deny to be of ther mynde. But yt was no boote to argew longer uppon the matter, the duke affirming that they wer all determynyd whyle lyfe dyd last to mayntaine warre agaynst ther enemyes, and therfor the thing that was with most mature delyberation concludyd was also with lyke firm consent to be performyd. And so all everiche one being encoragyd to make warre, every man for his part gatheryd forces. The duke through all hys domynyon musteryd with dylygence, likewyse did therle of Devonshire: therle of Pembrowgh also departyd to his earledom for the same cause. The Quene at the last, browght into the lyke hope of well doing, sayd, I pray God spede us well, and furthwith procedyd to Bath, as the duke had advysyd hir, ther to tary while hir confederates returnyd; but wher a way so ever she mynded to go, few knew thereof, to thend that hir intent showld not be discoveryd to hir adversaryes before she arryvyd in the place wherunto she travayld.

E. 4 levied foarces & came to Marl-bridge.

Also king Edward, whan he understoode that quene Margaret was coomyd into England, and that the duke of Soommerset and his allyes dyd gather an army, sent incontinent certane light horse men abrode every way to espye how great the forces of thenemyes wer, and whyther they tooke the course. They rode foorth spedyly, as they had bene commandyd, and having scurryed all the west part of the regyon, made relation what they had perceavyd and knowen. By whose travayle, whan the king could not be sure what way his ennemyes tooke, he determynyd to encounter with them soomewher before they showld approche London, and so he marchyd with that force which he had levyed at London

into Oxfoorthshire, and seking a place fyt for pightching his tentes, he chose the same at Abyngton, commanding that all powr to be gatheryd otherwher showld thyther resort. Here, when he had assemblyd all his hoste togethers, and understoode that his adversaryes wer coome to Bathe, tarrying ther to augment the number of ther soldiers by confluence of people who from every hand resortyd to them, he departed from thence to Marlebridge, which village is distant from Bath about xv^ten^. myles, and thyther he made hast, to thintent that by geaving his enemyes a possybylytie of fyght he might joigne battaill with them before they went into Wales, whyther he suspectyd (as ther meaning was indede) that they wold go to joigne themselves with therle of Pembrowghe, who preparyd huge forces in those partes. But whan the Quene understoode that king Edward was before hir, she departyd from Bath and went to Bristow, sending certane horsemen from thence before to searche whether she might have safe and open passage throwgh Glocestershire into Wales, whose intent was first to go thyther for increasing of hir army, and than incontinent without delay to marche with baner displayed against thenemy whersoever he showld abyde; her scurryers cam quykly agane, declaring that the towne of Glocester was firme and fast to duke Richerd, king Edwardes brother; and thowgh they had first assayed them with fayre promyses, and than after with threatenings, to revolt, yeat they wer no whyt moved therwithall. That being knowen, the quene departyd from Bristow, and marchyd to a towne sytuate uppon the ryver Severne which is caulyd Tewkesbury, passing by Glocester, because she wold wast no time in beseiging the towne. Here, whan they had pightchyd ther tentes, the duke of Soomersett, having intellygence that king Edward, who folowyd them foote by foote, was not fur of, drew his men foorth into battaile aray, muche against thadvise of thother captaines, who thought best to tarry til therle of Pembrowghe showld coome. King Edward also was

The battle of Tewxbury.

at hand not long after with his army well orderyd; and, thalarme sowndyd on both sydes, they joignyd battayll. After long and sharp fight, Edmund the duke, perceaving his smaule number to be overlayd with the multitude of his ennemyes, drew furthwith his men bak to thir standerdes, that, being close togythers, they might more easely resyst. The same also soomwhat refresshyd the corage of the soldiers, so that they began more fiercely to lay on: but whan the quene had not freshe soldiers to supply the places of wearyd and woundyd, she was overmatchyd of the multitude, and in thend vanquisshed; hir company being killyd and taken almost every one. Ther dyed in that battaill of noble men, Thomas earle of Devonshire, John lord Wenlock, lord John, broother to the duke of Summerset, with many other. Ther wer taken, Margaret the quene, Edward the prince, Edmund duke of Soomerset, John lord of Saint Johns, and xx^{te}. moe knightes. All those, except quene Margaret and the prince, wer within two days after beheadyd in the same towne. Edward the prince and excellent yowth, being browght a lyttle after to the speache of king Edward, and demaundyd how he durst be so bowld as to enter and make warre in his realme, made awnswer, with bold mynde, that he came to recover his awncyent inherytance; hereunto king Edward gave no awnswer, onely thrusting the young man from him with his hand, whom furthwith, those that wer present wer George duke of Clarence, Richerd duke of Glocester, and William lord Hastinges, crewelly murderyd; his corse, with the resydew of them that wer slane, was interryd in the next abbay of monkes of thorder of St. Benedict. But quene Margaret was convayd captyve to London, and, not long after being ransomyd, was of thenemy sufferyd to depart, who saylyd into France, lyvyd in perpetuall moorning, and yeat not that so muche for hirself or hir husband, who wer now well agyd, as for the losse of hir soone Edward, whom she, whom Henry his father, thowght to leave in

Edward the prince slaine in the kings presence.

Q. Margaret ransomede & sente overe.

saftie, after the losse of ther owne lyves and dignyties, by reason wherof ther could not have happenyd to them in all this world a matter of more grefe. But king Edward, rejoysing immortally for the victory, which endyd intestine dyvysion, after he had viewyd circumspectly all that part of the realme wherin his adversaryes had assemblyd, returnyd to London, wher was woonderfull rejoysing of all sortes, with contynuall prayer, the space of thre days. This was thend and conclusion of king Edwardes martiall exploytes, which was the yere of our salvation M.CCCC.LXXI., and the xith of king Edwardes raigne.

Bastard Fauconbridg, with the Kentyshe men, came to surprise London.

About the time of king Edwardes returne, Thomas Fauconbridge, base begotten soone to William Fauconbridge erle of Kent, a man of much audacytie, and factious withall, whom evell lyfe especyally stirryd upp to disturb the commonwelth, made a great garboyle: for he had somtime bene made admyrall by the erle of Warweke to kepe the passage betwixt Calice and Dover, that none of king Edwardes syd might frely pass; after that, being become nedy and offensyve, as well to frend as foe, he began openly to play the pyrate, wherby yt came to passe that within short space, being furnished with good store of shippes, he robbyd and spoylyd all abowt the coaste. At the last, arryving in Kent, he cam a land, and, having gatheryd no smaule powr of Kentishe people, he marchid foorth right to London, and at his very first cooming made great spoyle, all his men showting and crying that they wer coome to delyver Henry ther king. But whan yt was knowen that quene Margaret was vanquisshed in battaille, than William Edwardes, lord mayor for that yere, with John Aleyn and an other John, Chelley, shyryffes, assemblyd a good number of soldiers, and geaving charge uppon Fawconbridge reskewyd the spoyle and put him to flight, kylling and taking many of the Kentish folk in the chace.

This stere, lyttle thowgh yt wer, yeat yf yt had bene rasyd a

lyttle befor, no dowt but yt had browght King Edwardes affayres in great hazard. But trewly king Edward was in these last warres the happyest man in the world, in that his adversaryes assayled him at severall times. Surely, yf at the same time that therle of Warwycke hastenyd to London with his most forward and well furnisshyd forces, quene Margaret had of an other syde enteryd England, as she thryse had earnestly assayed, wherby she behinde and he before had urgyd thenemy at one instant; or yf Edmund duke of Soomerset had not at Teuchesbury daraignyd battaill before Jaspar erle of Pembrowgh had with his supply arryvyd; or yf Fawconbridge had assaultyd the cyty withall at the same time, thone or thother of these thynges nedes must have folowyd; that ether king Edward of fyne force must have fled, or bene compellyd fowly to yeald. Thus may we se that, as in all other thinges so in warre especyally, according to the common proverb, the good fortune of a man ys all. Yeat yt may be peradventure that this came to passe by reason of thinfortunacy of the howse of Lancaster, which wyse men thowght eaven than was to be adscrybyd to the rightewousnes of God; because the soveraignty extortyd forceably by Henry the Fourth, grandfather to king Henry the Sixt, cowld not therby be long enjoyed of that famyly, and so the grandfathers offence redowndyd unto the nephews. But now agane to the matter.

Bastarde Fauconbridg beheded.

The Fawconbridge sped him spedyly unto his ships, but soone after arryving unadvysydly at Southampton he was taken and beheadyd. Howbeyt, Jaspar erle of Pembrowgh, whan he understoode that the Quene was vanquysshed in a fowghten feilde at Tewkesbury, and that matters wer past all hope of recovery, retyryd with his retynew, which he was conductyng to his confederates, bak agane to Chepstow. Whyle he heare taryed lamenting that headynesse, which alway ys blynde and improvident, had utterly overthrowne the universall powr of king Henry, and dely-

beratyng with his frends what course was best to take, behold one Roger Vaughan, a very valyant man, sent thyther by king Edward for that purpose, went about by a trayn to take him; wherof therle being advertysyd tooke the sayd Roger within the towne and cut of his head; and so he sufferyd death at therles apoynt-ment which himself assayd by guyle to have brought therle unto. Hereof may we gather that a man ought to feare a plague to hinge over his owne head who seketh an others destruction. Therle departyd from thence to Pembrowghe, whom incontinent Morgan Thomas, sent by king Edward, besegyd, and kept in with diche and trenche that he might not escape; but the viijth day folowing he was delyveryd from that distres by Davyd, broother to the sayd Morgan, hys assuryd faythfull frind, and departyd furthwith to a towne by the sea syde caulyd Tynby, wher having a barke preparyd owt of hand he saylyd into France with his broothers soon Henry erle of Richemond, and certane other his frindes and servantes, whose chaunce being to arryve in Brytayne he presentyd himself humbly to Francisse duke ther, and, report-ing the cause of his cooming, submyttyd himself and his nephew to his protection. The duke receavyd them willingly, and with suche honor, curtesy, and favor intertaynyd them as thowgh they had bene his broothers, promysing them uppon his honor that within his domynyon they showld bee from thencefurth far from injury, and passe at ther pleasure to and fro withowt danger.

Rogere Vaughan loste his heade.

The earle of Pen-broke is besecgede.

Jasper E. of Pen-broke and Henry E. of Rich-mond sayle to Fraunce.

King Edward, whan his realme was thus pacyfyed, to thintent ther showld be no new insurrections, travalyd not long after throwgh Kent, wholy because the last tumult under the conduct of the Fawconbridge had procedyd from thence, and he punyshed severely those who had made the sedytion; which busynes being dispatchyd, to thintent every man might conceave a perfyte peace to be attainyd, and that all feare of enemyes might be abolisshyd, Henry the Sixt, being not long before depryvyd of hys dyademe,

H. 6 mur-thered in the Towre.

was put to death in the tour of London. The contynuall report is, that Richerd duke of Glocester killyd him with a swoord, whereby his brother might be delyveryd from all feare of hostylytie. But who so ever wer the killer of that holy man, yt is apparant ynoughe, that as well the murtherer as the procurers therof sufferyd punysshement for ther offences, who, whan as afterward they had none enemyes uppon whom to satisfy and satyate ther crueltie, exercysyd the same uppon themselves, as hereafter in place convenyent shalbe declaryd, and embrewyd ther handes in ther own bloode. Afterward the corse of king Henry was without any honor browght from the towre to Saint Paules churche, wher yt lay uppon the beere all one day, and the day folowing was caryed unto an abbay of moonkes of Saint Benedicts Order, in a towne caulyd Chertsey, distant xv^ten^ myles from London, and ther was buryed; but not long after yt was transferryd from that place to the castle of Wyndsore, and ther layd in a new tombe in Saint George his chaple. The sayd abbay was buyldyd of old time at Chertsey by St. Erkenwald bishop of London, abowt the yere of our Lord six hundreth seventie nyne, as we have shewyd in the fourth booke. King Henry raignyd xxxviij^te^ yeres, and, after he receavyd the kingdome agane, vj. monthes; he lyvyd lii. yeres. He begot of quene Margaret Edward his onely soone, prince of Wales. He was taule of stature, sclender of body, wherunto all his members wer proportionably correspondent; he was of coomly vysage, wherin did glister contynually that bowntefulnes of disposition wherwith he was abundantly endewyd. He dyd of his owne naturall inclynation abhorre all vices both of body and mynde, by reason wherof he was of honest conversation eaven from a chylde, pure and clene, partaken of none evell, ready to conceave all that was good, a contemner of all those thinges whiche commonly corrupt the myndes of men, so patient also in suffering of injuryes, receavyd now and then, as that he covetyd in his hart no revenge,

H. 6 buried twise.

The foundatione of Chertsey Abbey.

H. 6 discribed.

but for the very same gave God Almighty most humble thankes, because therby he thowght his sinnes to be wasshyd away; yea, what shalle we say, that this good, gratious, holy, sober, and wyse man, wold affirme all these myseryes to have happenyd unto him both for his owne and his ancestors manyfold offences; wherfor he dyd not muche account what dignitie, what honor, what state of lyfe, what soone, what frinds he had lost, nor made muche dole for the same; but yf in any thing he had offendyd God, that had he regard of, that dyd he morne for, that was he sorry for. These and suche lyke actions and offices of parfyte holynes, made, that for his cause God shewyd many myracles in his lyfe time. By reason wherof king Henry the VII^th^, not without desert, began a few yeres past to procure at the hande of Julius byshop of Rome that he might be canonyzyd for a Saynt, but being preventid by hasty death he could not perform that honorable fact. Moreover, *id officiū.* this Henry was of lyberall mynde; he had good learning in great reverence, and loovyd them who wer indewyd therwithall, wherfor he helpyd his owne people that they might be instructyd; for he foundyd a sumpteuous schoole at Eton, a towne next unto Wyndesore, in whiche he placyd a colledge of priestes, and children in great number, ther to be browght upp and taught ther grammer frely and without coste. The same man was also fownder of the Kinges colledge at Cambrydge, which so florysheth at this day with thornaments of learning that yt may well bee cawlyd the prince of all colledges. But now I will returne to the matter.

Thus king Edward, being delyveryd from a great part of his cares and causes of feare, to thintent ther showld not remane any trace or tracke of the faction adverse, determynyd utterly to destroy the remnaunt of his enemyes whersoever they wer; and therfor he sent George archebisshop of York, therle of Warwickes broother, to pyne away in pryson at Guyons, wher he contynewyd long in ward, but being afterward set at lybertie, he dyed by and

by for sorow; unto whom succedyd Laurence Both, and to that Laurence, dying three yere after, Thomas Rotheram bisshop of Lincolne, who was by orderly succession the liiijth bishop. Also the king found meane to coom by John erle of Oxford, who not long after the discomfyture receavyd at the towne of Barnet fled into Cornewall, and both tooke and kept Saint Mychaels Mount, and sent him to a castle beyond the sea caulyd Hammes, wher he was kept prysoner more than xij. yeres after. Many moreover wer uppon lyttle suspytion taken in many places, and other commyttyd to ward or grevously fynyd. Besydes these thinges, to thintent that his foes might fynde no succor in the countries adjoyning, he tooke treuce with James king of Scottes for xx. yeres. But yeat because he might have soomwhat to think uppon, and that he showld not lyve altogethers in perfyte securytie, he had intelligence at the same time that therles of Pembrowgh and Richemond were transportyd into Bryteyn, and of the duke ther curtesly receavyd and intertaynd; which matter indede he tooke very grevously, and thowgh hys mynd gave him that soome evell wold coome therby, which to prevent he sent in all hast secret messengers to the duke, promysing to geave great rewardes so that he wold make delyvery of both therles. The duke herd willingly king Edwardes ambassage, and whan he understoode that therles were so riche a pray he determynyd not to let them go, but to kepe them more warely than befoor, making awnswer to thambassadors that he might not delyver them to the king, bye reason of his promyse and fydelyte geaven to the contrary; but he wold for his cause kepe them so sure as ther should be none occasion for him to suspect that they should ever procure his harme any maner of way. Whan thambassadors could not obtaine the thing they requyryd they receavyd that for awnswer, and returned to the kinge, who than wrote agane to the duke, requiring that for his honour, good fame, and constancy, he wold performe the thing which of his owne accord

John E. of Oxford sent prisoner to Hames Castle.

he had offeryd, and he promysyd both money, ayd, and huge gyfts, and payd the same plentyfully every yeare afterward. The duke than seing that the remanyng of those two erles with him redowndyd to his advantage, least peradventure they might depart soome other wher, devydyd them in sundre, and, removing from them thinglishe servyteures which they brought with them, placyd men of his owne country to wayt uppon and gard them. In the meane time the king caulyd a parlyament at Westminster the iij^{d} ides of October and xijth yere of his raigne, which was of mans salvation M.CCCC.lxxiij.; wherein first wer revyved all suche his constitutions and lawys, which had bene repealyd and abrogatyd a lyttle before by king Henry the VIth, and statutes made for the forfature and sale of all his adversaryes possessions, and the cawlyng home again from exile of them who a few monthes before had bene attaintyd of treason by his enemyes; secondly, a taske was imposyd for money, wherof the kinges coffers were very bare; thirdly, as well publyk as pryvate quarrells rysen emongest the nobylytie, wherof the number was few, the better part of them being consumyd with domesticall dissention, was pacyfyed, appeasyd, and taken upp. The king himself helpyd this matter as muche as in him lay; who to move other men by his good example to forget injuryes and lay hatryd apart, grauntyd fre pardon for all treason and breache of law to all men that presently wer within the realme and had bene hytherto of thother faction. Not long also after that he receavyd to his grace and favor the German marchantes who wer borne uppon the sea coast of Almany, whom he had before cast in pryson, confyscatyng ther goodes, because certane ships of Lin had bene interceptyd by the Danes for a murder wherof thinglishe men wer accowntyd guyltie, of which sayd fact the Germane merchantes wer reportyd to bee pryncypall procurers. But whan tryall of treuth endyd the controversy, king Edward made unto the merchantes full restitution, who being

A parlea-ment somonede.

The Ger-mane mar-chantes restored.

afterward by reason hereof made more circumspect, have with great diligence conservyd ther pryveledges receavyd both of king Richerd the iijrd and of king Henry the Seventh.

E. 4 joyned in warre with the duke of Burgundy against the K. of Fraunce.

Whyle that king Edward gave himself wholy to the setting in order his causes at home, behold he was cawlyd by the duke of Burgoyne to thenterprysing of forreyn warre agaynst Lewys the Frenche king, that so soomwhat myght alway remane to the disturbing of cyvyll tranquyllytie. The kinge cowld not choise but joigne in that warre for many causes, wherof chiefly wer two; thone because king Lewys was his enemy, as he who had armyd therle of Warwicke in Fraunce agaynst him, thother for that, besydes thaffynytie which he had with the duke of Burgoigne, he was also singulerly beholden unto him for hys manyfold benyfyttes bestowyd uppon him whan he was dryven owt of England: wherfor, after conference had with his nobles of so weightie warres, he awnsweryd the duke of Burgoigne that he wold joigne with him therein agaynst the Frenche king. Trewly at that time the rage of warre was great betwixt duke Charles and king Lewys, and because king Lewys being an hard and froward man of nature was injuryous and spytefull both to frind and foe, therfor many noble men of France, abhorring his unreasonable dealing, conspyryd ether openly or secretely with the duke of Burgoygne: in the number of whom was Lewys of Lucembrough, constable of France, who conferryd with the Burgoignyon and right many of the nobylytie to bring the king in suche distress, as that ether he might reforme his lyfe, or els be in jeopardy, insomuche that the commonwelth of France showld be urgyd both with forrein and intestyne warre all at once. The duke discoveryd all his secretes to king Edward, the rather therby to allure him to take armes, which matters indede, as assuryd signes of victorye, drew fynally the king into that warre, who with all spede possyble preparyd both hoste and navy; and because muche money was necessary to

be had for diffraying the charges of that army, and that the money gatheryd a lyttle before by meane of taske was disbursyd and spent already in his domesticall affayres, a devyse cam in his heade, wherby he might pollytykly procure his more wealthy frindes to geave money, in so muche that they who wold not part withall might be cawlyd unkynd. And therfor he causyd certane his officers of receit and commissioners to caule before them all riche men generally, and to explane to them particularly, the cause he had to make warre, themptynes of his coffers, and for the trew hart, goodwill, and favor which they bore his maieste, to require ther help of soome money, to support the charge of this warre: but to be short, his practyse so prevalyd, that soome remembring the benyfytes receavyd, soome for shamefastnes, soome other for very feare, every man professing to shew his goodwill, according to his habylytie, aydyd the king with money, and he, to shew his thankfull accepting of this benyfyt, and for the perpetuall memory therof, caulyd the trybute thus frely geaven a benevolence, though perchance very many gave that benevolence with evell will. Thus king Edward, furnisshyd perfytely with all thinges appertanyng to the warres, and having assemblyd an army of 20,000 men, passyd the seas to Calyce the fourth nones of July, to whom duke Charles reparyd furthwith, and, putting him in comfoorth of victory, earnestly exhortyd him to apply this warre with all devoyr, wherby he might and should recover his right from the Frenche.

E. 4 sent an army into France in aid of the duke of Burgundy.

But whan king Lewys understoode that king Edward was already arryvyd with an army, in the contynent he augmentyd his forces, and the more danger that he saw hung over his head from so many most mightie enemyes togythers, with so muche more celerytie determynyd to make head agaynst them; wherfor he sent before, with suche force as he had hastely gatheryd, Robert Stotevylle, his lyvetenant, to the bounds of Artoyse, who might

receave the first brunt of thinglishe approche; himselfe the meane whyle stayd at Senles, ymagening by what meane he might bring the matter to a treaty; for, seing he was forsaken of his subjectes, whom himself had rejectyd, he dyd inwardly forsee, that yf bloode wer once drawen the warre wold be longer and more perillus, wherfor he was desyrus of nothing so muche as of peace. Suche matters as these wer in king Lewys head, whan king Edward removyd from Calice and entryd Artoyse, unto whom the French king sent furthwith ambassadors for peace. The king of England gave them audience, and having herd ther ambassage, began to grow coole, and not muche to mislyke of peace: for thowghe he wer a valyant man, and by fame of his nobles factes encoragyd rather to desyre warre than peace with the Frenche, thancyent enemy of thinglishe name, yeat whan he revolvyd with himself, how that the forces of England were so consumyd with cyvyll contentyon as yf nede should require a new supply of soldyers yt was almost vnpossyble to levy the same convenyently of his owne subjectes, and whan also he was not ignorant of emptie coffers, so that he should not be hable to make pay any long time to the soldier, he thowght that of very necessytie he must yealde and refrane from warre in the end, which he myght now fynish with honorable conditions, having especyally just cause to complane that the Burgoygnyon and he of Lucembroughe dyd not performe that which they promysyd at the begynning. Therfor, to thambassadors requestyng that he wold coome to a parle with the king, he aunsweryd at the last, that he wold so do, and so, having apoyntyd tyme and place, suffryd them to depart. Whan they made relation that thaunswer was geaven according as was desyryd, king Lewys, being fortyfyed both with men and money, came first with hart and goodwill to Pinquigny, which is a towne in the terrytory of Amyens, wher the meting of the two kinges was appoyntyd; whyther also came not long after king Edward,

Ambassadores sente from the Frenche king to treate of peace, which was concludyd.

gardyd with great force of soldiers. Here the two kinges meting uppon the brydge which is over the ryver Some, had long talk togythers, and fynally concludyd a treuce for many yeres, uppon these condityons: that king Lewys showld pay presently unto king Edward for his expenses in the preparation of this warre lv^{M}. crownes, and yerely afterward l^{M}.

Elizabeth E. 4 da. maryed to Charles prince of Fraunce.

After these thinges, to confirme, strengthen, and tye fast thys new frendship with soome knot of allyance, Elzzabeth, king Edwards dowghter, was covenantyd in mariage to Charles, king Lewys his soone. In that warre no man miscaryed but John duke of Excester; he had bene in sayntuary, as I have shewyd before, and, serving king Edward in this voyage, was afterward, contrary to promyse, taken sooddenly owt of the way: that was the year of mans salvation M.CCCC.LXXV^{to}. King Lewys from thencefurth payd the trybute trewly to the king of England unto the begyning of that yere wherin he dyed, than (as I suppose) he denyed to pay the same as a man knowyng his fate approche; wheruppon we may gather argument that the kings concludyd at the beginning a league, and not a trewce, which was for both ther advantages.

John duke of Exeter slaine.

The duke of Burgundye displeaz'd with the peace we made with Fraunce.

But whan the Burgoygnyon, and he of Lusembrough knew that king Edward had concludyd peace with king Lewys, they chafyd at the matter woonderously; they sentt to him byting, threatening, and envyouse letters, laing uppon him the blame why they wer not revengyd uppon king Lewys, which he was so farre from geaving regard unto (as one who, after so long troubles in warres, sowght now onely how to acquite and lowse himself at the last from all martiall affayres,) as that he set not a rushe therby. But Lewys of Lucembrowghe was specyally damnyfyed by thys alyenation of king Edward, by whom the secret practyses of the conspyrators wer discoveryed, who within few days was apprehendyd, and beheadyd at Paris, the last constable, as they caule him, emongest the Frenche nation.

E. 4 sent to the duke of Britany to have Henry E. of Richmonde delyvered.

King Edward having by this meane pacyfyed as well martiall as cyvill causes, althowght by victory of so many battaylles he wer accowntyd the happyest man of that age, who might now passe the rest of his lyfe in most perfyte peace and securytie, yeat for as muche as yowng Henry erle of Richemond (thonely ympe now left of king Henry the 6^{ths} bloode) was yeat on lyve he adjudgyd this onely thing to disturb all his felycytie, so that he lyvyd, as yt wer, in perpetuall feare; wherfor he determynyd yeat once agane to solycyte Francisse duke of Bryteyne, with gyfte, promise, and prayer, to betray that young erle into his handes, who he thought wold the rather satisfye his desire, because all king Henrye the vj^{tes} faction was by him in effect extynguished; and therfor he sent ambassadors in all haste to the duke, loden with great substance of gold, and that his demaunde might seme more honest, he commandyd them to tell the duke that he desyryd erle Henry because he might make soome matche with him in mariage, by affynytie, wherof the rootes of thadverse faction myght be utterly pullyd upp. Thowghe in dede he had no meaning to bring the same to passe by affynytie, as afterward ensewyd (so that yt may be thowght the kyng dyd prophecy), but eaven by the very death of erle Henry. The duke herd thambassadors curtesly, and first began to denay, and make many excuses why he might not lawfully do yt. At the last, weryed with prayer and vanquisshed with pryce, he delyveryd therle to thambassadors, commending him by his letters to king Edward, not supposing that he had commyttyd the sheepe to the woolffe, but the soone to the father, as one who thowght that king Edward ment simply to mary with Henry Elizabeth hys eldest dawghter. Thambassadors having obtaynyd the pray they desyryd, departyd with great joy to St. Maloes, a towne uppon the sea coste, ther to have take shipping, and so to have saylyd into England. But erle Henry, knowing that he was caryed to his death, throughe agony of mynde fell by the way

The duke of Brittany yelded to send the E. of Richmond to E. 4, and beinge one of his guards, sente for him agane.

into a fever. In which mean time John Chenlet, a man of suche reputation emong the nobles of Bretayne as that regyon had few lyke, and whom the duke acceptyd specyally well above all other, was in the country; but after he knew of the matter, being percyd with the shamefulnes thereof, he spedely reparyd to the court, and, as he was wont, presentyd himself famylyarly unto the duke, standing a prety whyle very sad and heavy without speaking, so that the duke, marvaling to se him in suche dumppes, demandid what the matter was that made him so pensyffe as his countenance pretendyd. Whereunto John awnsweryd: 'Most noble duke, this palenes of countenance ys unto me a messenger of death, which yf before this day had happenyd showld trewly muche lesse have grevyd, for I showld not have bene reservyd to so great sorow as your late fact hath depely pryntyd within my brest, which surely will cause the losse of my lyfe, or alteration of my condition and state, or at the leaste from hencefoorth perpetually to lyve most myserable; for yow, O duke, have by most honorable dealinges gotten a renownyd and vertewous report, whom all men with one assent extolle above the skyes, yeat this, alas, of most highe and huge accownt (by your favor and leave be yt sayd) your self seme to have leest regard unto of all other thinges, who lately, forgetting your promyse and faith geaven, have delyveryd Henry earle of Richemond, that most innocent ympe, to be torn in peces by bloody butchers, to be myserably tormentyd, and fynally to be slane; wherfor all that loove yow, whereof I of many am one, can not choose but be grevyd when we se yowr most famous renowne to be stanyd for ever with the note of falshoode and trechery.' To these woordes the duke replyed immediately: 'Peace, my trustie and welbeloovyd John, I pray the; ther will no suche thing happen to erle Henry, for king Edward is desirous to make him his soone in lawe.' Than John sayd moreover: 'Beleve me (most noble duke) Henry ys almost lost alreadie, whom yf yow

shalle once permyt to step one foote owt of your jurisdiction, all the world shalle not after that be hable to save his lyfe.' The duke was movyd with these woords of John Chenelet, who before that time ether had not suspectyd that king Edward sowght by suche meane to deceave erle Henry, ether els was being seducyd by mony from honestie, fayth, and good dealing, had not consyderyd what stoode with his honor, and sent incontynent Peter Landofe, his treasurer, to stay therle. Peter usyng great celerytie came anon after thinglishe ambassadors unto St. Maloes, and counterfatyng soome busynes, while that by long talk devysyd of purpose he hinderyd them of ther intendyd voyage, he causyd erle Henry, almost dead, to be browght polytykly into a most sure sayntuary within the sayd towne, and not long after reducyd him agane to the duke, delyveryd from feare of death, and by that occasion pretyly well amendyd. Hereof may we know that Greke adage to be most trew—Man, to man, God; for Henry, a young noble man betrayed to death without his owne desert, was preservyd sooddenely, by thelp of John Chenelet, a passing good prince. God grant that suche as have soveraigntie over others may receave instructyon by this example, that suche as lack good cownsayllers may once at the least learne both to receave into ther famyly, into ther pryvy cownsaille, them that know how and when to geave admonytion, and also to folow ther wholsome advise. But as to thinglishe ambassadors, being thus spoylyd both of money and marchandyse, and for the same grevously complayning, because they should not returne home altogether voyd, Peter promysed to do his indevor that Henry showld ether be kept in sayntuary, wherunto he had got himself by ther neglygence (as he sayd), or els showld be commyttyd to ward agane with the duke, so as ther should be no cause to feare hym. And thus derely dyd the king of England bye the custody of his enemy for thre days.

King Edward, who in the meane time desyryd to know of his ambassadors proceedinges with the duke, and therfor thowght the tyme very long till he might heare therof, when he understoode that they had bene so nighe the very poynt of conveyghing erle Henry prysoner to him into England as nothing could be more nere and escape, was very sory that the matter had not succedyd. But hearing that therle showld be safely kept his mynde was easyd, and from thencefoorth thowght best to have more regard how to encrease his owne welth, which was very sclender, than of any thing els; and so for a while gave himself to seke busyly his owne profyt; whereby when he had fyllyd his coffers with gold and silver suffycyently, remembring then what appertanyd to honor, he shewyd himself furthwith a lyberall, bowntyfull, and profytable prince to the commonwelth: but eaven loe sudaynly he fell into a fact most horryble, commandyng rashly and uppon the suddane his brother George duke of Clarence to be apprehendyd and put to death, who was drowned (as they say) in a butte of malmesey; the woorst example that ever man cowld remember. And as touching the cause of his death, thowgh I have enqueryd of many, who wer not of leest authorytie emongest the kinges cownsaylle at that time, yeat have I no certaintie therof to leave in memory. A report was eaven then spred emongest the common people, that the king was afeard, by reason of a soothsayers prophecy, and so became incensyd agaynst his broother George, which prophecy was, that, after king Edward, showld raigne soome one the first letter of whose name should be G. And because the devels ar wont in that sort to envegle the mynds of them who conceave pleasures in suche illusions, with ther crafty conceytes and subtylties, menn sayd afterwardes that the same prophecy tooke effect, whan after Edward the duke of Glocester usurpyd the kingdom. Others lay an other cause of his death, which ys in this sort. That abowt the same time thold

George duke of Clarence committed to the Tower.

The maner of the duke of Clarences deeth.

hatryd renewing betwixt the two brothers, then the which nothing ys more vehement, the duke, being a wydower, requyryd, by meane of his sister Margaret, to have in maryage Mary, thonely dowghter of Charles duke of Burgoigne, and that king Edward, envying his brothers prosperytie, hinderyd that affynytie. Theruppon pryvy grudge further growing, a certane servant of the dukes was the very same time also convict of sorcery and executyd, against which dede whan the duke could not hold him content, but vehemently speake and cry owt, the king muche movyd with this exclamation commyttyd the duke to warde, and not long after, being condemnyd, by right or wrong, put him to death. But yt ys very lykly that king Edward right soone repentyd that dede; for (as men say) whan so ever any sewyd for saving a mans lyfe, he was woont to cry owt in a rage, "O infortunate broother, for whose lyfe no man in this world wold once make request;" affirming in that manyfestly, that he was cast away by envy of the nobylytie. The duke left behind him two chyldren, Margaret, who after maryed to Rycherd Pole, and Edward, whom the king made erle of Warwicke. These thinges were doone that yere which was of mans salvation M.CCCC.LXXX^{tie}, and the XIX^{ten} yere of king Edwardes raigne. And thus being delyveryd from all care of warres and cyvill seditions, which before that time might have happenyd, the king began to marke more severely thoffences of noblemen, and to be more covetous in gathering of money, by reason wherof many were perswadyd in ther opynyons that he wold from thencefurth proove an hard and severe prince; for after the death of his brother, as he perceavyd that every man fearyd him, so now he fearyd nobody. But that matter was preventyd by brevytie of his lyfe. And thus may we se that as well prosperytie ys soometyme cause of evell unto them who enjoy yt, as adversytie profytable to them who ar patient.

Abowt the sayd tyme, James king of Scotts delt, by ambassa-

dors, with king Edward, that he wold bestow Cecyly his dowghter upon his soone James, whom he dyd handfast to that young prince. This Cecyly was yownger than Elyzabeth, whom I have before mentyonyd to have bene bethrouththyd, a prety while ago, to Charles, soon to Lewys king of France. But nether thone affynytie nor thother tooke effect; for the better part of high estates ar woont oftentimes rather in thend to folow that serveth for ther present profyt, then that which ys honest and honorable; for after that king Lewys was delyveryd from hostyle feare, he than dyd not onely contemne thaffynytie confirmyed already by fayth and fidelytie with king Edward, but began almost openly to deny payment of the money which he had promysyd; and so by wrangling and shifting, had alreadie defraudyd the king of England of one yeres trybute, which the king determynyd to revenge by dint of swoord. And the Scottishe king also, an assuryd and contynewall confederat of the Frenche, after he herd that the Frenche king wold not perform his woord, supposing that he might do what him lyst, brake treuce with England, and molestyd the borders therof with suddaine incursions; wherfor king Edward, with great indignation, determynyd to make warre uppon Scotland; yeat afterward, whan king James excusyd the fact as doone by the arrogancy of soome his subjectes without his pryvytie, the matter might have bene easyly appeasyd, yf in thend king Edward had not bene laboryd by king James owne broother to enterpryse the same warre: for king James, being a man of sharp wytt, and trusting more than mete was to his owne head and opynyon, gave lyttle care to good advyse; and because he wold not be fownd fawlt withall, he therfor tooke to be his councellers men of meane cauling, and becam so offensyve to the nobylytie by appeaching soome dayly of haynous crymes, and punishing others by the purse, that he causyd them ether to go willingly in exyle, or, fayning soome busynes, to fly soome other

A motyon was made by K. James of Scotland for the lady Cecely to be maryed to his sonne.

Alexander, brother to the king of Scotts perswaded E. 4 to send an army into Scotland.

wher. Of which number was his brother, Alexander duke of Albany, who, as he travalyd into France, tarying with king Edward, ceassyd not to incense him to revenge his honor, and augment his desire that way. Therfor whan kinge Edward had in mynde, as sayd ys, to revenge the late injurye, and was also eggyd on to armes by the duke, who promysyd great ayd, he fynally determynyd with good will so to do, both because king James, besydes the late breache of treuce, had relevyd king Henry the vjth and those of his faction with all thinges necessary, and also for that he had good hope the duke wold be faythfull unto him, yf, his brother being expulsyd, he might enjoy the crowne: and therfor he addressyd furthwith agaynst the Scottes, Richerd his brother, duke of Glocester, Henry the fourth erle of Northumberland, Thomas Stanley, and the said duke of Albany, with an army royall. King James the meane whyle advertysyd of thinglishe mens approche, furnisshyd furthwith in readynes suche forces as he presently could levy, and going agaynst his enemyes, cam unto Berwicke for defence of hys borders; but whan he understoode that the Englishe men excedid him both in force and number, and perceavyd also that his owne soldiers was scarce well to be trustyd, removing therfor abowt midnight, he retyryd to Edenbrowgh, ther to abyde thennemy. The duke of Glocester, entring Scotland, wastyd and burnyd all over the countrie, and, marchyng further into the land, encampyd himself not farre from his enemyes; whan as, perceaving that not one man of all the Scottishe nation resortyd to the duke of Albany, he suspected treason, not without cause; wherfor he tooke treuce with king James, and returnyd the right way to Berwicke, which in the meane time Thomas lord Stanley had woone, without losse of many his men. And king James, whose subjectes bare him no good will, was forcyd by nesitie, after treuce taken, to disgest that displeasure of winning the towne. The duke of Albany, repenting afterward that he had bene the author of that war, wherby both his country and himself was

Barwick wone.

annoyed, and seing himselfe in no reputation emongest thinglishe men, departyd into France, wher not long after he was killyd in runnyng at tylt. He left behind him a soone cawlyd John.

Thys exployt fortunately fynysshed, king Edward, mynding to take on hand, as soone as time wold serve, thother war that was immynent, caulyd an assemble toguythers, and, supposing all thinjuryes before receavyd of the Frenche was to be of no account in comparyson of this present now commyttyd, made relation to his noble men that the league was lately broken by them, the trybute denayd, the maryage of his dowghter forsaken; and therfor exhortyd that they wold, as time showld serve, defend thonor of ther realme. With which matters all being equally incensyd, made awnswer, that they knew well, every man wold be desyrous to fyght with the Frenche men, whom they had so often vanquisshyd, and that for thonor of ther country they ought to refuse no travale, and therfor they wer ready at his commandment to prosecute so great injury with swoord and fyre. Whan he knew the mynde of his temporall lordes, a subsydye was assessyd also uppon the clergy perticulerly, for the mayntenance of that warre, because yt was not lawfull for them to beare armes. But behold, while king Edward taketh care and thowght for these matters, he fell sicke of an unknowen disease; wherfor, perceavyng himself caulyd to thend of this lyfe, fyrst, lyke a good Chrystian man, he reconcylyd him to God, whom he thowght he had, by sinning oftentimes, offendyd, that whan the body wer dead, the sowle, throwghe Godes mercy, myght returne unto him; than he made his Will, wherin he constitutyd his soones his heyres, whom he commyttyd to the tuytion of Rycherd his brother, duke of Glocester, and bestowyd muche goodes devoutly. And so, within few days after, he departyd this lyfe the vth ides of Aprill, at Westmynster, whar thassembley was made, being abowt fifty yeres old, which was of his raigne the xxiijrd, and of mans salvation M.CCCC.lxxxiij. His corse being caryed with

E. 4 fe. sicke, whereof he died.

all pomp and solemnytie to Wyndsore, was ther enterryd in Saint Georges churche. He begot of Elyzabeth his wyfe ten children, wherof seven he left alyve; two men chyldren, Edward prince of Wales, and Richerd duke of Yorke, and the third, base gotten, caulyd Arthure, of very verteuous and lovely disposytion; five women, Elyzabeth, Cycyly, Anne, Catheryne, and Bryget, wherof all wer maryed save Bryget, who was made a nonne. King Edward was very taule of parsonage, excedinge the stature almost of all others, of coomly vysage, pleasant looke, brode brestyd, the resydew even to his fete proportionably correspondant, of sharp witt, hault corage, of passing retentyve memory towching those thinges which he had once conceavyd, dylygent in doing his affayres, ready in perylls, earnest and horryble to thenemy, bowntyfull to his frinds and aquayntance, most fortunate in his warres, geaven to bodyly lust, wherunto he was of his owne disposition inclyned; by reason wherof, and of humanytie which was bred in him aboundantly, he wold use himself more famylyarly emong pryvate parsons than the honor of his maiestie requyryd, wherfor ther was a great rumor that he was poysonyd. A lytle before thend of his lyfe, we have sayd, that he began to slyde by lyttle and lyttle into avarice, who before had usyd towards all men hyghe lyberalytie: but after all intestine dyvision appeasyd, he left a most welthy realme abownding in all thinges, which by reason of cyvill warres he had receavyd almost utterly voyd as well of hable men as money. He had alway regard to bestow rowmes of honor, especyally appertaning to the clergy, upon every of them that wer most trew nobylytee, and suche chiefly dyd he caule to his cownsill; others of the meaner sort, whom he dyd specyally favor, them did he adorne with welth, not with dygnytie, which many princes, having no regard of honor, do not; by which vertues he had so bound to him the peoples good will as that they mournyd for him long after his death.

RICHARD THE THIRD.

POLIDORE VIRGILL OF THINGLISHE HISTORY THE XXV^te^. BOOKE.

RICHARD duke of Glocester, at the self same time that his brother king Edward departyd this lyfe, was in Yorkeshire, unto whom William Hastings his chamberlaine sent from London trusty messengers in post to certify him of his brothers death, and from himself to signify, that the king at his death had commyted to him onely, wyfe, chyldren, goodes, and all that ever he had, and therfor to exhort him, that he would with all convenient spede repare unto prince Edward into Wales, and coom with him to London to undertake the governement. Whan Richard had intelligence hereof, he began to be kyndlyd with an ardent desyre of soveraigntie; but for that ther was no cause at all whereby he might bring the same to passe that cowld cary any colour of honestie, so much as in owtward shew and apparance, he differryd the devise thereof presently unto an other time, and the meane while sent most looving letters to Elyzabeth the quene, comforting hir with many woords, and promysing on his behalf (as the proverbe is) seas and mountanes, and, to increase the credit of his carefulnes and naturall affection towards his brothers children, cawling togythers unto York thonorable and worshipfull of the countrie therabowt, he comandyd all men to sweare obedience unto prince Edward; hymself was the fyrst that tooke the othe, which soone after hee was the fyrst to vyolate. So all the resydew planely pronowncyd and sware the same. These thinges doone, having gatheryd no smaule force of armyd men, he preparyd to

E. 4 by his will ordayned his brother protector over his children and the realme.

Richard swore obedience unto prince Edwarde.

set forward when time showld serve. Prince Edward, being but a child in yeares not hable to rewle hymself, lay the same time within his princypalytie at Ludlow, under the tuytion of his uncle Anthony earle Ryvers, Thomas Vaughan chief of his chamber, and Richard Gray, knights. Elyzabeth the quene, and Thomas marquyse Dorset, hir soonn by John Gray hir former husband, who was at London, advysyd these men by often messages to conduct the prince furthwith to London, that after the funeralls of his father solemnyzed, he might, after the maner of his auncesters, be crownyd king. They according to the quenes and marquyses commandment tooke there journey not long after towardes London. Richard also hastenyd thyther, whom Henry duke of Buckingham met at Northampton, with whom the duke of Glocester had long conference, in so muche that as is commonly beleeved he eaven then discoveryd to Henry his intent of usurpyng the kingdom, and especyally for because the duke folowyng afterwards his humor, whether yt were for feare or for obedience, held ever with him. And so Richerd from thencefurth determynyd to assay his purposyd spytefull practyse by subtyltie and sleight, which yf by that meane showld not faule owt so fortunately as he hopyd, than lastelye, with malice apert, to attempt the same; not myndyng, myserable man, that he could offend therin withowt extreme detryment of the commonwelth, and thutter subvertion of his howse. Surely so yt happeneth to graceles people, that who seketh to overthrow an other, his owne frawd, wicked and mischevous intent, his owne desperate boldenes, maketh him frantyke and mad.

Richard tooke possession of the prince.

And thus whan they had taken cownsell Rycherd made haste unto the prince, who journayd on before with a smawle trayne, and was now coomyd to Stony Stratfoorth (so ys the towne caulyd) whan he, togyther with Henry the duke gardyd with a bande of soldiers, overtooke the prince and receavyd him into his

rewle and goverment; but he apprehendyd Anthony and Thomas Vawghan, and dyvers other, whom after he had taken, supposyng that they wold not assent to his intent and purpose, he sent bak to be kept in ward at Pounfrayt castle.

Anthony Woodvill, Tho. Vaughan and others sent prisoners to Pomfrette castell.

But whan the fame of so owtrageous and horryble fact cam to London, all men wer woonderously amasyd, and in great feare, but especyally Elyzabeth the quene was much dismayed, and determynyd furthwith to fly; for, suspecting eaven than that ther was no plane dealing, to thintent she might delyver her other children from the present danger, she convayed hirself with them and the marquyse into the sayntuary at Westmynster. The very same dyd other noble men who wer of hir mynde for the safegard of hir chyldren. But the lord Hastinges who bare pryvy hatryd to the marquis and others of the quenes syde, who for that cause had exhortyd Richerd to take upon him the government of the prince, whan he saw all in uprore and that matters fell owt otherwyse than he had wenyd, repenting therfor that whiche he had doone, caulyd together unto Powles churche suche frindes as he knew to be right carefull for the lyfe, dygnytye, and estate of prince Edward, and conferryd with tham what best was to be doone. Here divers of them who wer most offendyd with thys late fact of Richerd duke of Glocester, adjudgyd yt mete with all spede to procure the lybertie of prince Edward, whom they accowntyd as utterly oppressyd and wrongyd by force and violence, that so the fyre, which was kyndling, myght be put owt before yt showld sprede further abrode; affirming that from thencefurth no devyse wold be voyd of danger except the wicked enterpryse, which gave good testymony that duke Richard had inwardly no good meaning, wer with present force avoydyd. All the resydew thowght that ther was no nede to use war or weapon at all, as men who little suspectyd that the matter wold have any horryble and cruell end. Wherfore they concludyd to tary whyle duke Richard

Q. Elizabeth with her othere childrene and the marques Dorsete tooke sanktuary.

should coom and declare what the matter was, why he had cast them who had the prince in government into prison. And this resolution fynally lyked them all, because in apparance yt stood with the profyt of the commonwelth that every of the nobylity, as much as might be, showld avoyd varyance and contention. Not long after arryvyd the duke Richard and Henry with the prince, and lodgyd at the bishopp of Londons howse besydes Powles, wher ther will was the prince showld remane tyll other matters myght be put in readynes. Than dyd duke Rycherd assume the governement wholy; but yt grevyd him spytefully that he might not receave into his tuition, without some great stere, his brothers other soon Richerd duke of York, whom his mother kept in sayntuarye; for, except he might get them both togethers into his powr and custody, he utterly desperyd to compasse that which he longyd for. Conceaving therfor soome hope therein, he bent all the forces of his wyt how to wrest and bereve him from his mothers lap. And so, as he had purposyd, he laboryd to bring abowt by sleyght which by force he could not, who cawling to him a good number of the nobylytie, sayd: 'I pray God that I never lyve yf I be not carefull for the commodytie of my nephews, whose calamytie I know well must nede redownd lykewyse to the commonwelth and myself also. Therfor, seing that my broother Edward owr king dyd uppon his death-bed constytute and appoint me Protector of the Realme, I had more regard of nothing than to repare hyther and bring with me prince Edward his eldest soon, that in time convenyent all thinges might be doone by thadvise of cownsaile; for I am determynyd to do nothing withowt your authoryties, whom I am willing to have myne assocyates, ayders, and partakers in all dealinges, that you thereby may well beare wytnes what soever I shall from hencefurth do as touching the government of the realme, the same wholy to be employed, feythfully, and without fraud, for thutylytie

The prince and Richerd D. of Gloster lodged at the bushope of Londones house.

of the commonwealth, and the commodytie of prince Edward, the charge and government of whom I suppose you know suffycyently that his father commyttyd to me for that onely cause. But Antony Rivers attemptyd of late to hinder me, that I showld not accordeyng to my dewty take on hand that charge, whom therfor we have bene compellyd to commyt with others who also made resystance therein, that by ther examples other men might learne not to have owr commandments in contempt. But what shall we say of the evell cownsayle which they who most maligne and hate me have geaven to quene Elizabeth? who, withowt any just cause, cownterfayting feare so folyshly, hath enterprysyd to cary in all haste the kings children as wicked, wretched, and desperate nawghtie parsons into saynctuary, thonly refuge in earth of povertie, det, and lewd behavyor, as thoughe we went abowt to destroy them, and that all owr doinges tendyd to violence. Which thyng, thowghe yt be exceding great dishonor to us and the whole realme, yet the sex ys to be borne withall, from the which suche rages readyly procede. But we are to provyde remedy betimes for this womanishe disease creping into owr commonwelthe, to the woorst example trewly that may be. What a sight I pray you shalle yt be to se the day wherin the king shalbe crownyd, yf, whyle that the solemnytie of tryumphant pomp is in doynge, his mother, brother, and sisters shalbe remane in sayntuary? What manner of concurse of people shalle ther be, by whose authoryty he is to be creatyd king? What signe of rejoicing shalle that assemble geave unto the soveraigne, the same being more full of hevynes than exultation? Surely ther is not one amongest all the people who may not justly be in feare of himself, and think that all majestie of lawis is already violated, yf the Quene and hir chyldren shalle remaine any longer in sayntuary! May yt lyke yow therfor that soom of yow go to the quene hirself, and procure the reducyng of hir and hir children as soone as may be into the

A resone shewed whie the earle of Rivers and others were comytted.

palace, whom, yf peradventure yow shalbe hable by no meane to withdraw from hir opynyon, as seducyd by them who loove mee not, who study to stirre up envy against mee, to lay some fault uppon me, yeat at the least to deale that she may uppon generall assurance yealde Richerd thother soon into your handes, so that he may be present with other noble men at his brothers coronation. Yow have already my mynde, do now what yow think best in the behalf of the commonwelth; for at my hand yow both may and owght to expect all that is good and honorable.' Whan he had spoken these woordes all men who suspectyd no subtyltie thowght duke Richardes advyse both mete and honest. And so yt was agreyd that Thomas archebisshop of Canterbury, Henry duke of Buchyngame, John lord Howard, and sundry other grave men should deale in that cause, who reparing unto the sayntuary began to perswade the quene with many fayre wordes and perswations that she wold returne with hir children into the palace, unto whom they gave both pryvate and publyke assurance; but the woman, forseing in a sort within hir self the thing that folowyd furthwith after, could not be movid with any perswations to commyt hir self to the credyt of duke Rycherd, which whan they understoode, fynally they demandyd to be delyveryd to them hir soon Richard onely, which they obtaynyd hardly after many fayre promises. And so was thinnocent chyld pullyd owt of his mothers armes.

Persones sente to treate with the Q. in sanctuary.

Richard, the princes yonger brothere, delivered oute of sanctuarye.

Richard having by this meane obtaynyd almost his hartes desire, convaighed his nephewys from the bysshop of Londons howse unto the Towr; and yeat all this causyd no suspytion, for that thusage ys at the kings coronation for the whole assembly to coom out from thence solemly, and so procede to Westmynster. This doone, Richerd, whose mynde partly was enflamyd with desire of usurping the kyngdom, partly was trubblyd by guyltynes of intent to commyt so haynous wickednes (for a guiltie con-

The prince and his brother removed to the Towere.

science causeth thoffendor to have dew punishment alway in imagination before his eyes), thowght aftirward nothing better than to mollyfy the multitude with largesse and lyberalytie, than to wyn the hartes of his adversaryes with gyftes, rewardes, and promyses, than in the Towr, wher himself and his nephews remayned, to consult, conferre, and delyberate of new with the noble men dayly in most craftie and subtyle maner for the dealing and disposing of suche thinges as wer furthwith to be doone. And this was his dryft, that, whyle stayng and tarying made the people desyrus of this solemne sight, he, by consultinge from poynt to poynt, might sound and serche out how the nobylytie was affected, saying alway that he did not seke the soveraigntie, but referryd all his dooings to the profyt of the realme. Thus covering and cloking certane days his desire, under the colour and pretence of common welthe, he so enveglyd the myndes of the nobilitye, that they all, few only exceptyd who wer not ignorant from the beginning what marke he shot at, dyd by no meane espy the cause of his lingering, or to what ende his practyses wold faule owt, so many matters dyd he so often propone and so few explane, according as a guyltie conscyence ys wont to be of many myndes. But in the mean time perceaving that William lord Hastings was most vehement and earnest to have prince Edward once crowned king, who chiefly amongst all the nobylytie was, for his bountifulnes and lyberalytie, much beloved of the common people, bearing great sway emong all sortes of men and parsons of best reputation, whether yt wer that he fearyd his powr, or despearyd yt possible to draw him to his syde and opynyon, he determynyd to ryd the man owt of the way before his purpose showld be discoveryd to the resydew, whom he did not yeat fully trust. Wherfor, burning with rage incredible to bring to effect the thing which in mynd was resolvyd, he drew a plot for the lord Hastinges as foloweth: he placyd pryvyly in a chamber adjoyning to that with

Wm. lo. Hastings by practys slain in the Tower.

himself and other lords sat usually in cownsayll a sort right ready to do a mischiefe, geaving them in charge that when he showld geave a signe they showld suddaynly rushe owt, and, compassing about them who should syt with him, to lay handes specyally uppon William lord Hastinges, and kill him forthwith. This trayne thus layd, abowt the day before the ides of June he commanded to be sent for specyally by name Thomas Rotheram archebisshop of York, John Morton bysshop of Ely, Henry duke of Buchingham, Thomas lord Stanley, William lord Hastinges, John lord Haward, and many others whom he trustyed to fynde faythful ether for feare or benefyt. The resydew of the nobylytie, togethers with John Russell bishop of Lincoln, lord chancelor of England, whom his will was not to have present at suche an owtrageous and fowle spectacle, he commanded to be the same day at Westminster haule, with other magistrates, to proclame the day of prince Edward's coronation. But the nobles who wer cawled came well early all into the Towr as to delyberate of the whole matter. Here, whan the doores was shutt, whyle they thus alone without testimony of any other than onely God, had goodwill to consult of the most weyghtie affayres, Richard duke of Glocestre, who thowght of nothing but tyranny and crueltie, spak unto them in this sort: 'My lords, I have procuryd you all to be caulyd hyther this day for that onely cause that I might shew unto you in what great danger of death I stand; for by the space of a few days by past nether nyght nor day can I rest, drynk, nor eat, wherfor my blood by lyttle and lyttle decreaseth, my force fayleth, my breath shorteneth, and all the partes of my body do above measure, as you se (and with that he shewyd them his arme), faule away; which mischief veryly procedeth in me from that sorceres Elyzabeth the quene, who with hir witchcraft hath so enchantyd me that by thanoyance thereof I am dissolvyd.' To these sainges whan no man gave answer, as making lyttle to the purpose, William

lord Hastings, who hatyd not duke Richerd, and was woont to speke all thinges with him very frely, awnsweryd, that the quene deservyd well both to be put to open shame, and to be dewly punysshyd, yf yt might appeare that by use of witchecraft she had doone him any harme. To these Rycherd replyed: 'I am undone (I say) by that very woomans sorcery.' Whereunto William made the same awnswer that befor. Than Rycherd, to geve a sygne for them who wer withowt layd pryvyly for the nonce, spak with more shirle voyce: 'What than, William, yf by thine owne practises I be brought to destruction?' He had scarce utteryd these woordes whan as they to whom charge was commyttyd in that behalf yssewyd, and with open assault apprehendyd all at once William lord Hastinges, both the bysshops of York and Ely, and also the lord Stanley. These thre last wer cast ther into severall prisons; but William lord Hastinges had scarce leysure to make his confession before his head was stryk from his shoulders. So the lord Hastinges learnyd, by his owne losse at the last, that the law of nature wherof the gospell speaketh (what soever you will that men do unto yow, do you so also unto them) can not be broken without punishment. He was one of the smyters of prince Edward, king Henry the vj^{ths}. soon, who was fynally quyt with like maner of death. Would God suche kind of examples might once be a learning for them who think yt lawfull to do whatsoever lyketh them. Now I returne to the matter. As soone as this dede was doone they cryed treason, treason throwght the whole towre; which noyse whan it sprede abrode throwght the cytie the citecyns and all other people, takyng the fyrst rumor to be trew, and ignorant of that which was doone within, began to cry owt lykewyse; but after that they understoode, by terryble speache brutyd abrode, the truthe of the matter doon within, then began every man on his owne behalf to feare the hart of inward enemyes, and to look for nothing els but cruell slawghter or myserable flight; and all

The bisshopes of York and Ely and the Lord Stanley were committed to severall prisons.

men generally lamentyd the death of that man, in whom both they and the nobles who favoryd kinge Edwardes children had reposyd their whole hope and confydence. Now perceavyd they well that duke Richerd wold spare no man so that he might obtayn the kingdom, and that he would convert the regall authoritye into tyranny. But the duke after this, being satisfyed with the death of William lord Hastinges, delyveryd Thomas lord Stanley safe and sownd, fearing, perchance, least yf he showld have doone him any wrong George lord Strange his soon showld have stirred upp the people to armes soomwher agaynst him. As for John Morton bysshop of Ely, who dyd farre excede them all in wysdome and gravytie, him he commyttyd to the duke of Buckingham, whom the duke sent furthwith into Wales to his castle at the towne of Brechnoch. But Thomas Rotheram archebishop of York he committed to the custody of sir James Tirrell, knight. His meaning was to make those bisshops sure whom he thought wold not alow uppon his purposyd intent, until that, having gotten the soveraigntie, he showld nede to feare no man.

Lord Stanley released.

Whan these thinges wer doone, Richard, knowinge then for certane that ther was no cause why he showld any further dissemble the matter, sent his letters of warrant to the keper of Pontfreyt castle to behead in hast Anthony lord Ryvers, Richerd Gray, and Thomas Vaghan, which was doone soone after. In the meane whyle, himself at London, fearing now all thinges, garded first his parson with a company of armed men, then after sowght with all dylygence to wyn unto hym the chief of the nobylytie by large gyftes and fayre promyses, a good part wherof he drew unto his amytie, seducyd rather for feare than for hope of benefyt; by the suportation of whose puyssance and authorytie he determynyd to attempt soone after an other devyse. For surely he was owt of all hope to be hable so to bynde the comonaltie to him by rewardes, as that they wold willingly away with his government,

Order geven to behead Anthony Rivers, Richard Graye, and Thomas Vaughan.

who he knew well wold, for defence of lyberty and conservation of the royall right, be readyly stirryd to take weapon in hand, wherfor he feared them. Theruppon, revolvinge many matters in his mynde, at last he bethowght him of a devyse wherby the people, being seducyd by a certain honest pretence, should the lesse grudge at his doinges. And so the man, being blinde with covetousnes of raigning, whom no fowle fact cowld now hold bak, after that he had resolvyd not to spare the bloode of his owne howse, supposing also all regard of honor was to be rejectyd, devysyd and bethowght himselfe of suche a sleyght as foloweth: He had secret conference with one Raphe Sha, a divyne of great reputation as than emong the people, to whom he utteryd, that his fathers inherytance ought to descend to him by right, as the eldest of all the soones which Richard his father duke of York had begotten of Cecyly his wyfe; for as much as yt was manyfest ynowghe, and that by apparent argument, that Edward, who had before raignyd, was a bastard, that ys, not begotten of a right and lawfull wyfe; praying the said Sha to instruct the people therof in a sermon at Powles Crosse, wherby they might once in the ende acknowledge ther trew liege lord. And sayd that he greatly requyred the same, because he estemyd yt more mete to neglect his mothers honor and honestie than to suffer so noble a realme to be pollutyd with suche a race of kinges. This Raphe, whether dasyd with feare, or bereft his wyts, promysed to folow, and obey his commandment. But whan the day came, duke Richard, who, under the colour of serving another tourne, had made himself mightie, came in royal maner, with a great gard of men armyd, unto the churche of St. Paule, and ther was attentyvely present at the sermon, in whose hearing Raphe Sha, a learnyd man, taking occasion of set purpose to treat not of divyne but tragicall discours, began to instruct the people, by many reasons, how that the late king Edward was not begotten by Richard duke of York,

Richards practise with Rafe Sha, a preacher, to publish in a sermon at Poules Crosse his clayme.

but by soome other, who pryvyly and by stelth had had knowledge of his mother; and that the same did manyfestly appeare by sure demonstrations, because king Edward was nether in physnomy nor shape of body lyke unto Richard the father; for he was highe of stature, thother very little; he of large face, thother short and rownd. Howbeyt, yf suche matters were well consyderyd, no man could dowt but Richard, now in place, was the dukes trew soone, who by right owght to inheryt the realme dew to his father; and therfor he exhortyd the nobylytie, seing they presently wantyd a king, to make ther king Richard duke of Glocester, the trew yssue of the royall bloode, and to forsake all others basely begot. Whan the people herd these woordes, they wer woonderus vehemently trublyd in mind therwith, as men who, abasshyd with the shamefulnes of the matter, all to be cursyd and detestyd as well the rashnes, foolehardynes, and doltishnes of the preacher as the madnes of Richard the duks wycked mynde, who wold not se how great shame yt was to his owne howse and to the whole realme, how great dishonour and blot, to condemne, in open audience, his mother of adultery, a woman of most pure and honorable life; to imprynt upon his excellent and good brother the note of perpetuall infamy; to lay upon his most innocent nephews an everlasting reproche. Wherfor at the very instant yow might have sene soome, astonyed with the noveltie and strangenes of the thing, stand as mad men in a mase; others, all agast with thowtrageous crueltie of thorrible fact, to be in great feare of themselves because they war frindes to the kinges children; others, fynally, to bewayle the misfortune of the chyldren, whom they adjudgyd now utterly undoone. But ther ys a common report that king Edwards chyldren wer in that sermon caulyd basterdes, and not king Edward, which is voyd of all truthe; for Cecyly king Edwards mother, as ys before sayd, being falsely accusyd of adultery, complanyd afterward in sundry places to right many noble men, wherof

soome yeat lyve, of that great injury which hir soon Richard had doon hir. But Richard, whan his mother was thus openly defamyd as an adultress, and a slander publysshyd upon Edward his brother, was no whit ashamyd, as he owght to have bene, but, rejoysing that a matter was boltyd owt in the face of the world wherby he sought to make aparent to all men that he had good right to the realme, returnyd into the toure with a royal trane, as thowe he had bene of the magistrates proclamyd king. But Raphe Sha, the publisher of thabhomynablenes of so weightie a cause, (who not long after acknowledgyd his error, throwgh the grevous rebukes of his fryndes that wer ashamyd of his infamy,) so sore repentyd the doing therof that, dying shortly for very sorow, he suffered worthie punishement for his lewdnes.

Sha the preacher at his death acnoleged his errore.

Now by these meanes was yt thowght that duke Richard had attaynyd the soveraygntie, and the same was every wher so reported, thowgh more for aw than good will; whan, for feare of perilles hanging every way over his head, he resolvyd that of necessitie yt was mete to stay a whyle, notwithstanding many of his frindes urgyd him to utter himself planely, and to dispatche at once that which remayned, yeat, least his doinges might easyly be myslykyd, his desire was that the people might be earnestly delt withall, and the whole matter referryed to the determynation of others as judges in that behalf. And so, abowt the xiijth calends of June, he commandyd the judges and magistrates of the cytie, Robert Bylles, lord mayr, Thomas Norland and William Maryn, shyriffes, with thaldermen, to assemble in the yeald hawle, and to them he sent the duke of Buckingham, with dyvers other noblemen that wer of his counsayll, to deale in his cause, and in his name to requyre that they, hearing the reasons concerning the dispatche of so weyghtie affayer, wold decre that which stoode with the welthe of the whole realme and of thinhabytantes therof. The duke of Buckingham delyveryd, in long proces, duke Ry-

The duke of Buckingham and other lords sent to publishe Richards title in the yeld halle London.

chards mynd, and in his behalf declaryd that ther was not to enforce the cause any other thing but right, loyaltie, constancy, honesty, and equytie, seing he demaundyd the kingdom from the which he had bene defraudyd before by his broother Edward, and therfor prayed that by ther authorytie they wold deale and determyn of so weyghtie a matter, wherbie he might, with good will of the commonaltie, who wold be rewlyd by ther judgement, enjoy once at the last his royall right, which wold be for the profyt of the common welth; for as muche as duke Richard was of that wysdom and modestie that all men might well hope for, at his hand, both right and reason. This was the dukes demand and determynation also, agaynst which, because wher force ys right beareth no rewle, no man durst gaynsay. But Richard duke of Glocester, as thowgh the terryfyed judges had decreyd of his syde, rode the next day after from the Towr throwgh the myddest of the cytie unto Westmynster, in robes royall, and gardyd with fyrme force of armyd men, syttinge in the royall seat. He then fyrst of all tooke uppon him as king; for some matters he determynyd, others he promysyd he would heare; to the magystrats he gave in commandment that from thencefurth they showld do all thinges in his name; also he apoynted a day for all the people and nobylytie to mete, and be ready to sweare him homage. Whan the fame of these doinges wer spread abrode throwgh all partes of the realme, they wer dyversly taken: for who so wer of king Edwards and the howse of Yorke part detestyd the presumptuous boldnes of duke Richard as a very pestylence that fynally wold consume and utterly ruynat that howse. Agane, who so held in hart with king Henry the Sixt thowght that all those thinges wold be for ther advantage, because within short time yt wold fawl owt that the rigor of Rychardes government wold be intollerable to every man, and that the nobylytie, for the exterping utterly therof before yt showld take any depe roote, wold, withowt

Richard went to Westminster and published his purposes.

dowt, yeald ther allegeance unto Henry earle of Richemond, king Henryes brothers soon, and send for him to be king. Richard, in the meane time, according as his force and tyranny well requyred, was afeard least that many should becoome the quenes frynds, and procure the commonaltie to commotyon, whan they should see the crowne bereft from prince Edward; therfor he commandyd furthwith five thousand soldiers which wer levyed in Yorkshyre (for to them he most trustyd) to be sent unto him, under the conduct of Rychard Ratclyf, and gave to him in charge to dispatche dyvers thinges by the way. Hee, gardyd with that companye, stayed at Poyntfrayt, and commandyd the keper of the castle to put to death Anthony Lord Ryvers, Rychard Gray, and Thomas Vaughan, as the Glocestryan had commandyd (according as I have before wrytten), that by reason of his presence such an horryble fact might be executyd without uprore, which doone he conducted his company to London. Richard, thus garded with that number of faythfull and trusty soldiers, attemptyd confydently to execute all other things. And so, having assemblyd togyther a company of the nobylytie, he was creatyd king at Westmynster the day before the nones of July, and adornyd with the regall diademe, togethyr with Anne his wyfe, the people rather not repyning for feare than allowing therof, and was cawlyd Rychard the iij[rd]. That was the yere of mans salvation M.CCCC.LXXXIIIJ.

Anthony Rivers, Richard Graye, Tho. Vaughan executed.

R. 3 crowned at Westminster.

Thus Richerd, without assent of the commonaltie, by might and will of certane noblemen of his faction, enjoyned the realme, contrary to the law of God and man; who, not long after, having establyshyd all thinges at London according to his owne fantasy, tooke his journey to York, and first he went streight to Glocester, where the whyle he taryed the haynous guylt of wicked conscyence dyd so freat him every moment as that he lyvyd in contynuall feare, for thexpelling wherof by any kind of meane he determynyd by death to dispatche his nephewys, because so long as they lyvyd

Order geven to the leeftenant of the towere to murthere the yonge princes.

he could never be out of hazard; wherefore he sent warrant to Robert Brakenbury, lyvetenant of the towr of London, to procure ther death with all diligence, by some meane convenyent. From thence he departyd to York, wher he was joyfully receavyd of the cytecyns, who for his comyng mayd certane days publyk and open tryumph; but king Richard, that he might advance himself openly to all men, yea to the country people (so desyrus was he to prowle after vane plause and congratulation), denouncyd a day wherin the archbisshop of York, at his request, apoyntyd general procession, in the solemnytie wherof himself and the quene went crownyd. King Richard caryed with him Edward earle of Warweke, the soone of his brother George duke of Clarence, by reason of whom least any danger might to himself be deryvyd, he sent him to be kept in ward at a castle caulyd Shyriff Huton. But the lyvetenant of the towr at London after he had receavyd the kinges horryble commyssion was astonyed with the creweltie of the fact, and fearing least yf he showld obey the same might at one time or other turne to his owne harme, dyd therfor dyffer the dooing therof in hope that the kinge wold spare his owne bloode, or ther tender age, or alter that heavy determynation. But any one of those poynts was so fur from taking place, seing that the mynd therin remanyd immovable, as that when king Richard understoode the lyvetenant to make delay of that which he had commandyd, hee anon commyttyd the charge of hastening that slawghter unto another, that is to say James Tyrrell, who, being forcyd to do the kings commandment, rode sorowfully to London, and, to the woorst example that hath been almost ever hard of, murderyd those babes of thyssew royall. Thys end had Prince Edward and Richarde his brother; but with what kinde of death these sely chyldren wer executyd yt is not certanely known. But king Richard, delyveryd by this fact from his care and feare, kept the slaughter not long secret, who, within few days after,

Edward E. of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence, sent prisoner to Seryhooton castle.

Brakenbury refused to be the murtherer of the princes.

James Tyrrell was made leeftenant of the towere who performed the exployt.

permyttyd the rumor of ther death to go abrode, to thintent (as we may well beleve) that after the people understoode no yssue male of king Edward to be now left alyve, they might with better mynde and good will beare and sustayne his governement. But whan the fame of this notable fowle fact was dispersyd throwgh the realme, so great griefe stroke generally to the hartes of all men, that the same, subdewing all feare, they wept every wher, and whan they could wepe no more, they cryed owt, 'Ys ther trewly any man lyving so farre at enemytie with God, with all that holy ys and relygyouse, so utter enemy to man, who wold not have abhorryd the myschief of so fowle a murder?' But specyally the quenes frinds and the chyldrens exclamyd against him, 'What will this man do to others who thus cruelly, without any ther desert, hath killyd hys owne kynsfolk?' assuring themselves that a marvalous tyrany had now invadyd the commanwelth. Emongest all others the news herof was unto thynfortunate mother, who yeat remanyd in sayntuary, as yt wer the very stroke of death: for as soone as she had intelligence how her soons wer bereft thys lyfe, at the very fyrst motion therof, the owtrageousnes of the thinge drove her into suche passion as for feare furthwith she fell in a swowne, and lay lyveles a good whyle; after cooming to hir self, she wepeth, she cryeth owt alowd, and with lamentable shrykes made all the house ring, she stryk hir brest, teare and cut hir heire, and, overcommyd in fyne with dolor, prayeth also hir owne death, cawlyng by name now and than emong hir most deare chyldren, and condemning hirself for a mad woman, for that (being deceavyd by false promyses) she had delyveryd hir yowngest soon owt of sayntuary, to be murderyd of his enemy, who, next unto God and hir soons, thought hir self most injuryd; but after long lamentation, whan otherwise she cowld not be revengyd, she besowght help of God (the revenger of falshed and treason) as assuryd that he wold once revenge the same. What man ys

ther in this world, who, yf he have regard unto suche noble children thus shamefully murderid, wyll not tremble and quake, seing that suche matters often happen for thoffences of our ancestors, whose faults doo redownd to the posterytie? That fortunyd peradventure to these two innocent impes because Edward ther fathyr commytted thoffence of perjury, by reason of that most solemne othe which (as we have in the former booke mentionyd) he tooke at the gates of the cytie of York, meaning one thing inwardly and promysyng an other in expresse woordes outwardly, as furthwith appearyd: and for that afterwardes, by reason of his brother the duke of Clarence death, he had chargyd himself and his posterytie before God with dew desert of grevous punysshement.

Whyle this stere was abrode otherwher, the day of generall procession was at hand, wherin ther was great confluence of people, for desire of beholding the new king. In which procession very solemly set furth and celebratyd by the clergy, the king was present in parson, adornyd with a notable riche dyademe, and accompanyed with a great number of noble men: the quene folowyd also with a crowne uppon hir head, who led by the hand hir soon Edward crownyd also with so great honor, joy, and congratulation of thinhabytants, as in shew of rejoysing they extollyd king Richard above the skyes. Whan this solemne pomp of prayer was fynysshyd, the king not long after cawlyd a parlyament, in the which, after many matters wer establishid towching the state of that province, his only soon Edward, abowt ix^ne^ yeres owld, was made prince of Wales, and John Haward, a man very pollytyke and skilfull in warres, was made duke of Norfolk, and his soon Thomas, a lusty and noble young gentleman, earle of Surrey. Also the number of the kinges cownsayll was augmentyd with soom noble men of that countre, because king Richerd had in ther fidelytie most confydence as we have before declaryd. Fynally, because ther was no myschyef, none adversytie, which the kinges

R. 3 somoned a parliament at York.

John Howard made duke of Norfolk and his soone E. of Surrey.

head, guiltie of so many crymes, dyd not mystrust, provysyon was made that the kings enemyes, desyrus to disturb all things, might not be hable to caule home againe into England Henry earle of Richemond. And so Thomas Hutton, a man of pregnant wyt, was appoyntyd ambassador to deale with the duke of Brytayn by all force of fayre woords and money that he wold detane the erle in perpetuall pryson at the least, according as he had doone hytherto at the request of his brother Edward, who transportyd furthwith into Brytayny. Whan these thinges wer doone the king returnyd to London, whom all the cyty for dewties sake cam furth to mete. Thus had kinge Richerd by a strange kinde of owtrageous creweltie attayned the type of glory and promotion, and in the eye of the people was accountyd a happy man, whan as soon after he perceavyd himself to declyne from his state by lyttle and lyttle, that he could not kepe fast therein by any pollycy. Surely after the murder of king Edwardes soons as oft as any evell storme was presently immynent or lyke to ensew, the people, remembring suddaynly the kings late abhomynable fact, layd the blame thereof only uppon him, exclaming that God did revenge the kinges wickednes uppon the powr Englishe people; whom therfor they accusyd, detestyd, and fynally besowght God to take extreame vengeance uppon. Thus when king Richard was spoken of at all hands, and though hee [was] not ignorant from whom these speaches dyd procede, yeat for all that durst not by violence revenge the same, supposing yt an unwyse part not to beare soom time with suche as towld him of his fault, he fell agane from so great felycytie into a feare and heavynes of hart, and, because he could not reforme the thing that was past, he determynyd to abholishe by all dewtyfulnes the note of infamy wherwith his honor was staynyd, and to geave suche hope of his good governement that from thencefurth no man showld be hable to lay any calamytie that might happen to the commonwelth unto

Thomas Hutton sent ambassador to the duke of Brittany to detayne the earle of Richmond in prison.

his charge. But hard yt ys to alter the naturall disposition of ones mynde, and suddaynly to exterp the thing therin settlyd by dayly conversation. And so, whether yt wer for that cause, or (as the brute commonly goeth) because he now repented of his evell dedes, he began afterward to take on hand a certane new forme of lyfe, and to geave the shew and cowntenance of a good man, wherby he might be accowntyd more righteous, more mylde, better affectyd to the commonaltie, and more lyberall especially toward the powr; and so first might meryte pardon for his offences at Gods hand; than after appease partly thenvy of man, and procure himself good will, he began many woorks as well publick as pryvate, which (being prevented by death before his tyme) he perfyted not. He fowndyd a colledge at York of an hundreth priests. Also he began now to geave eare to the good admonition of his frindes. But anon after yt appearyd evydent that feare, which seldom causeth continewance of dewtyfull dealing, made king Richard so suddainly good, for as much as the bowntyfulnesse of the man beinge but counterfayt waxed cold agane quickly; by reason wherof all his proposyd practyses began straightway to coom to naught. For fyrst he lost Edward his only soon the third month after he had bene made prince of Wales; after that, a conspyracy was contryvyd agaynst him by meane of Henry duke of Buckingham, which, though yt wer by one of the conspyrators discoveryd before yt grew great, yeat was he trublyd in suppressing therof. And for as muche as we be now coommyd to this place, yt is nedefull to make convenyent rehersall of certane thinges premysyd wherby we may explane the first cause of the discord begun betwixt the king and the duke: for Humfrey soomtyme erle of Hereforde, of whose death we have made mention before in the xviiith. booke, left of his body begotten two dawghters, and them he made his heyres; that ys to say, Mary who maryed to Henry erle of Darby, theldest soon to John duke of Lancaster,

R. 3 founded a Coledge at York.

His son prince Edwarde diede.

The discencion betwixt R. 3 and the duke of Buckingham.

who aftirward having gotten the crowne was caulyd Henry the Fourth, and Alyenore whom Thomas of Woodstok duke of Glocester and erle of Buckingham tooke in maryage. Of this Thomas and Alyenore yssewyd and remanyd onely alive one dowghter caulyd Anne, to whom by right discendyd after the confiscation of hir fathers possessions in the time of Richard the Second, who put the duke to death, hir mother Alyenors inherytance. This lady was first handfast to Thomas Stafford, but he dying before marriage, she also beinge but very young, was afterward maryed to Edmund brother of the sayd Thomas erle of Stafforth. He begot Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and Humfrey Henry. And so by the maryage of Anne and Mary was therle of Herefoords inherytance devydyd, thone moytie to thowse of Lancaster, thother to the bloode of Staffoords, from whom the dukes of Buckingham deryve ther pedygre. And after a few yeres all the rase of king Henry the Fourth faylyd in prince Edward, Henry the Syxtes soon: which howse extynguyshyd, Henry of Buckingham thowght that he might by good right demand that part of therle of Herefords patrimony which in the right of Mary had coommyd to the howse of Lancaster, which than king Richard held in right of the crown, with thother possessions of the howse of Lancaster. Therfor the duke within few days after, having gotten fytt occasion to talke of the matter, demandyd of king Richerd that part of therle of Herefoordes patrymony that to him by right of inherytance was dew. To this king Richerd, who supposyd that matter to have bene now forgotten, ys reportyd to have awnswered furthwith in great rage: 'What now, duke Henry, will yow chalenge unto you that right of Henry the Fourth wherby he wyckedly usurpid the crowne, and so make open for yourself the way therunto?' Which king Richerds awnswer settlyd depe into the dukes breste, who from that time furth, movyd muche with ire and indignation, began to devyse by what meane he might thrust

The duke of Buckingham demanded of the kinge his part of the E. of Herefords lands.

owt that ungratefull man from the royall seat for whose cause he had right often doone many thinges agaynste his owne conscyence otherwise than before God he lawfully might. The duke thus affectyd accompanyed king Richerd not long after as he journeyed towardes Yorke unto Glocester, from thence with his consent he repayred into Wales, wher a great part of his lyvings lay. Heare the while of his tary, provokyd partly by freshe memory of the late receavyd injury, partly repenting that hitherto of himself hee had not resystyd king Richardes evell enterpryse, but much had furtheryd the same, he resolvyd to seperate himself from him (though in dede he showld so have doon in the begynnyng), and to bring to passe the thing which he had long revolvyd in mynde: and so he began to discover his intent to John bishop of Ely, whom (as we have before remembryd) he had in Brechnoch castle. The bisshop suspecting treason, demandeth why he goeth abowt that matter, and prayeth to do him no harm; afterward whan he understood his just cause of hatred, which king Richerd had well deservyd long ago, he refusyd not to conferre of the conspiracy. Than the duke unfoldyd all thynges to the bisshop of Ely, and dyscoveryd himself wholy, shewing how he had devysyd the meane wherby both the bloode of king Edward and of Henry the Sixth that yeat was remaining, being conjoignyd by affinytie, might be restoryd to the domynion dew unto both ther progenyes. The meane was this, that Henry erle of Richemond, who (as the report went) was, after knowledge of king Edwardes death, delyveryd by Francys duke of Brytayne owt of prison, might be sent for in all hast possyble, and assystyd with all that they might do, so that he wold promyse before by solemne othe, that after he had once obtaynyd the kingdom he wold take to wyfe Elyzabeth, king Edwards eldest dawghter.

A consultation between the duke of Buckingham and the bishope of Ely towching the earl of Richmonds title.

The bishop of Ely alowyd as well the dukes devyse as the maner of performing the same, and procuryd one Renold Bray,

servant to Margaret erle Henry his mother, who had maryed Thomas lord Standley, to coome unto the duke into Wales, and his pleasure knowen to returne spedely unto the said Margaret, and certify hir of all thinges which had bene delyberatyd betwixt him and the duke concernyng common saftie. This trewly was the matter for the which dissention sprang betwyxt the king and the duke, and wheruppon the conspyracy was made agaynst him. But the comon report was otherwyse; for the multytude sayd that the duke dyd the lesse disswade kinge Richerd from usurping the kingdome, by meane of so many mischievous dedes, uppon that intent that he afterward, being hatyd both of God and man, might be expellyd from the same, and so himself be caulyd by the commons to that dignytie, wherunto he asspyryd by all meanes possible, and that yerfor he had at the last stirryd upp warr agaynst kinge Rycherd: but let us returne to owr purpose.

Renold Bray, the countys of Richmonds servant, sent for to the duke of Buckingham.

Now before the duke all in a rage had begun to be alyenate in mynde from king Richerd, the same very time a plot of new conspiracy was layd at London betwixt Elyzabeth the quene, wyfe to king Edward, and Margaret mother to erle Henry, in this sort: This Margaret for want of health usid thadvyse of a physition namyd Lewys, a Welsheman born, who, because he was a grave man and of no smaule experience, she was wont oftentimes to conferre frely with all, and with him famylyarly to lament her adversitie. And she, being a wyse woman, after the slaughter of king Edwardes children was knowen, began to hope well of hir soones fortune, supposing that that dede wold withowt dowt proove for the profyt of the commonwelth, yf yt might chaunce the bloode of king Henry the Sixth and of king Edward to be intermenglyd by affynytie, and so two most pernicious factions should be at once, by conjoynyng of both the howses, utterly taken away. Wherfor furthwith not neglecting so great oportunytie, as they wer consulting togythers, she utteryd to Lewys that

Lewis a physetyon used betweene Q. Elizabeth and the countys of Richmond for a match to be had betweene their children.

the time was now coom when as king Edwardes eldest dowghter might be geaven in maryage to hir soon Henry, and that king Rycherd, accountyd of all men enemy to his countree, might easyly be dejectyd from all honor and bereft the realme, and therfor prayd him to deale secretly with the quene of suche affayre; for the quene also usyd his head, because he was a very learnyd physytion. Lewys nothing lyngeryng spak with the quene, as yeat remaning in sayntuarie, and declaryd the matter not as delyveryd to him in charge but as devysyd of his owne heade. The quene was so well pleasyd with this devyse, that she commandyd Lewys to repare to the cowntes Margaret, who remaynyd in hir husbands howse at London, and to promyse in hir name that she wold do hir indevor to procure all hir husband king Edwards frynds to take part with Henry hyr soon, so that he might bee sworne to take in maryage Elyzabeth hyr dowghter, after he shalle have gotten the realme, or els Cycyly, the yownger, yf thother showld dye before he enjoyed the same. Lewys, by and by, doing as he was commandyd, made up the matter easyly betwyxt the two women, who because of his scyence becam a messenger betwene them, and was assocyat unto them in this new conspyracy against king Richerd withowt any suspytion. Thus Margaret being browght in good hope apoyntyd Raynold Bray her servyteur, a man most faythfull and trustie, to be the chief dealer in this conspyracy, and commanded him to draw unto her partie, as secretly as might be, soom such noble or woorshipfull men as wer wyse, faythfull, and actyve, who wer hable to make help in the cause. Raynold within few days gathered into the socyetie of that conspyracy Gyles Dawbney knight, Richerd Gylfoord, Thomas Ramney, John Cheney, and many mo, having taken an oathe beforehand of every man perticulerly. The quene also maketh hir frindes partakers of this devyse and busynes to be set forward with all spede convenyent. But Margaret the meane whyle tooke into hir famyly

Rainold Braye procures a confederacion of the contesse of Richmonds party.

Christopher Urswyche, an honest, approovyd, and serviceable priest, and after he was sworn unto hir, she discoveryd to him all hir intent, trustyng that she might so do safely because Chrystopher was alway a favorer of king Henry the vjth, and commendyd to hir by Lewys the physytion. Thus the mother, carefull for the well doing and glory of hir soon, gave Christopher in charge to go unto erle Henry into Bryttany, and to signyfy unto him all that was doone with the quene. But before he began to take his journey behold she was suddanely advertysid of the same practyse purposyd by the duke of Buckingham, as we have before remembryd; which whan she knew she alteryd hir intent, staying Christopher at home, and sent Hugh Conwey into Bryttane unto hir soon Henry with a good great sum of money, commanding him to utter all thinges, and exhort hys returne, and especyally to advyse him to arryve in Wales, wher he should fynde ayd in readines. Also, Richerd Gilfoord sent after him owt of Kent Thomas Romney with the same message. They having spedy passage cam unto erle Henry almost at one time, whom we have before sayd to have bene with the duke of Bryttany, now after the death of king Edward at his owne lybertie. Henry having receavyd the message gave thanks to God, supposing his whole harts desyre cowld not have happenyd without Gods speciall provydence; and therfor, rejoysing woonderusly, he conferryd all thinges with the duk, shewing that he had conceavyd an assuryd hope of obtanyng the realme of England, and prayd therfor that the same might be browght abowt both by his good help and assent, whiche whan so ever habylytie showld serve he wold not fale to requyte. The duke, althowgh he had bene laboryd from king Richerd both with money and muche sute by Thomas Hutton his ambassador, whom we have before declaryd to have bene sent thyther, that he wold thrust erle Henry agane into ward, yeat he promysyd ayd and willingly gave yt. Than Henry premysyd into England Hewgh

Christofor Urswicke sent into Brittany to the earle of Richemond.

Christofer Urswick jurney stayed, and Hugh Conwaye sente to the earle of Richemond.

Thomas Rumney sent by Richard Gylford to earle Richmond.

Conway and Thomas Ramney to geve notice of his coomming, that his frinds might take order hedefully for all other thinges which by pollycy might be provydyd for; hys owne pleasure was to stay ther untill that all thinges nedefull for saling wer preparyd. In the meane time in England the heades of the conspyracy went abowt many matters; soome held furnyshyd fyt places with force of men; soome secretly solycytyd the commonaltie to sedytion; others earnestly mynded, and wer redy, so soone as they should know of Henryes arryvall, to begin the warre; others fynally, of which number John Morton bisshop of Ely was chief, provokyd, by secrete messengers, all men to this new conspyracy whom they knew assurydly to hate king Richerd no lesse than themselfes did.

While these thinges wer a doing king Richerd was informyd of the conspyracy of these noble men, who being dryven into perplexitie by dubble mischief, for because he nether had army in readynes, nether yeat, yf he showld make warre uppon the suddayn, knew suffycyently wher to encownter thenemy, wher to tary nor whyther to go, determynyd to dyssemble the matter a while till he might gather an army, and that by speache of the people, and dylygence of espyall, the devyses of his adversaryes wer searchyd owt, conceavyd, manyfestyd, and discoveryd, or that by thys kinde of sleyght he might apprehend soome of the conspirators; for that ther is no deceyt more depe and secrete than that which lurketh in the dissembly of understanding, or under soome colour of curtesy.

The kynge sent for the duke of Buckingham, but he reffused.

And because he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the head of the conspyrators, therfor first of all he thowght best, ether by fraude or force, to cut of the same; and therfor he sent exceding curteous letters unto the duke that he wold coome unto him, and gave the messenger who caryed the letters in charge to make in his name many fayre promyses, and by soome good meane perswade him to coome unto the court. The duke, alledging infyrmytie of stomake, awnsweryd the messenger that presently coome

he cowld not. King Rycherd wold admyt none excuse, but sent for him agane with threatening woords. Than the duke openly denyed that he wold coom to his enemy, and withall made ready for warre, and perswadid his confederates furthwith, soom one wher soom other, to rase the people. So almost at one moment and time Thomas marquyse Dorset, who was gone owt of sayntuary and preservyd from all danger by meane of Thomas Rowell, in Yorkshire, Edward Courtney, with Peter his broother, bisshop of Excester, in Devonshire, Richerd Gylfoord, with certane of great reputation, in Kent, rasyd upp the commons every wher to armor, and made a begynning of warres. But king Richerd the meane season having gatherid an huge host of armyd men, because he wold not dissypate his forces, the while he was willing to pursew every of the conspyrators, resolvyd to omyt the resydew, and turne his whole army agaynst the head, that was the duke, who removing from London tooke his journey towardes Salsbury, to thintent he might dyvert owt of that way agaynst the duke whersoever he could learne that he wer encampyd. And now was he coommyd within two days journey of the towne, whan the duke with great force of Walse soldiers, whom he, as a sore and hard dealing man, had brought to the feild agaynst ther wills, and withowt any lust to fight for him, rather by rigorus commandment than for money, which was the cause of the revolt, went earnestly abowt to encownter the king, but he was forsaken suddaynly of the more part of his soldiers, and compellyd thereby to fly, during which flight, being in great terror by reason of this suddane chaunge of fortune, whan he knew not well what way to take, he got himself into the howse of a certane servant of his namyd Humfrey Banyster, whom because he had found an honest man eaven from his chyldehoode, therfor he trustyd to fynde him most faythfull, and commyttyd himself to hys fydelytie, meaning to remane secret with him untill the tyme that he might advyse

The duke of Buckinghames confederates.

R. 3 gone with an army against the duke of Buckingham.

The duke of Buckingham forsaken of his soldiers.

ether how to repare for his owne defence a new army, either els to go unto therle Henry into Brytayn. But whan his confederates, who had now begoon warre, knew that the duke was forsaken of his people, and fled no man wyst whyther, they wer suddainly dismayd, every man fled without hope of saftie, and other got into sayntuaryes or wyldernes, or assayed to sayle over the seas, wherof a great part came safe soone after into Brytayne. Emongest that company was Peter Cortney bisshop of Excester, with Edward his broother, erle of Devonshire, Thomas marquise Dorcest, with Thomas his soon, a very chylde, John Bursher, John Welles, Edward Woodvill, a valyant man of warre, brother to quene Elizabeth, Robert Wylloughbie, Gyles Dabeney, Thomas Arundell, John Cheyney, with hys two brothers, William Barchley, William Brandon, with Thomas his broother, Rycherd Edgecombe, and all these almost of thorder of knighthoode: also John Halvell, Edward Peningham, chiefe captane of tharmy, Christopher Urswyche, and John Morton bysshop of Ely, with many other noble men, transportyd over abowt the same very time into Flanders.

The duke of Buckinghames confederates flede into Brittany.

But king Richerd, a man muche to be feared for circumspection and celerytie, who now was coomyd to Salsbury, after that he knew the duke and others of the conspyracy to be fled, determynyd to pursew them, and first sent soldyers anon to all the portes nighe therabowts, to take, kepe, and hold all passinge owt by sea, and to let them that fled from transporting; than after, to any man that showld tell of the duke he proclamyd large reward; to the bond, libertie; to the fre pardon from punishment and a M^li^. And because he had receavyd of late intellygence by Thomas Hutton, being returnyd owt of Brytayne, that the duke thereof was so farre from condiscending to kepe erle Henry in pryson for his sake, yea as that he was busyly abowtward to ayd therle with succor and supply against him, he disposed withall certane shipps well furnysshyd alongest the sea coste that

A proclamacone against the duke of Buckingham.

tendeth toward Brytayne, to thintent that, yf erle Henry showld by chaunce coom, he might ether be interceptyd or kept from the shore. Moreover, to make marvalus strayt watche every wher, he disposyd some soldiers in places convenyent to beset ways, paths, and all kynd of passages: he sent owt others every way, to seke yf yt were possyble to fynde and apprehend any wher the duke or any his confederats. To these men seking owt all thinges narrowly, Humfrey Bannister, whether for feare or money yt is soom dowt, betrayed his guest Henry the duke, who brought him furthwith to Salsbury unto king Richerd. The duke was dilygently examynyd, and what he knew uppon demand he tould without torture, hopynge because he frely confessyd, that therfor he showld have lybertie to speake with king Richerd, which he most sore desyryd; but after he had confessyd thoffence he was beheadyd. This death dyd the duke suffer of king Richerd, whom he had aydyd agaynst his own conscience (as the saing is), with whom he had by this meane conjoignyd socyetie of perill more trewly than of empire. Hereof surely may we marke, that he loseth his labor, and chargeth his owne lyfe with haynous offence, who helpeth an evell and wicked man, seing that he both receaveth of him for the most part an evell dede for a good, and of God alway in the ende condigne punishment.

The duke of Buckingham betrayed by Homfrey Banystere his servante.

ultra aras.

Whyle these thinges were doone in England, Henry erle of Richemoond had preparyd an army of v.M. Bryttaynes, and furnyshyd a navy of xv^{tn}. shipps, and now was approchyd the day of his departure, who began to sayle with prosperous wynd the vjth. ides of October in the yere of helth M.CCCC.LXXXIIIJ., and the second king Richerd began his raigne. But a little before even suddayn tempest arose, wherwithall he was so afflyctyd that his shipps wer constraygnyd by force of a crewell gale of wynde to turne ther course from one way from another; divers of them wer blowen bak into Normandie, others into Bryttany. The ship wherin

The earle of Richemond taketh his journey towards England.

Henry was, with one other, tossyd all the night long with the waves, cam at the last very early in the morning, whan the winde grew calme, uppon the south coast of the iland, agaynst the haven caulyd Pole. From hence erle Henry, viewing afur of all the shore beset with soldiers, whiche king Richerd, as we have before shewyd, had every wher disposyd, gave open commandment that not one man of them all showld take landing before the resydew of the ships showld come togythers; which, while he taryeth for, he sent owt a bote to try whether they wer his frindes which hoovyd so in the same place. Than those who wer sent wer earnestly desyryd by the soldiers from the shore to come a land, crying that they wer sent from the duke of Buchingham to be ready for the accompanying of erle Henry safe unto the camp, which the duke himself had at hand with a notable excellent army, so that joigning ther forces they both might pursew king Richard who was fled. But erle Henry suspecting yt to be a trayn, as yt was in dede, after that he dyd see none of his owne ships within view, hoysyd upp sale, and with prosperus wynde came into Normandy, so that a man may think the very blast of the wynde drove him bak from danger. Here he, tarying uppon the shore the space of thre days for the refreshing of his soldiers after ther toyle and travaille, determynyd to returne with part of his retynew a foote into Brytayne, and in the meane time sent ambassadors to demand of Charles theight, king of Fraunce, who had succeeded Lewis his father lately dead, leave to passe throwghe Normandy. The king pytying therles fortune, dyd not onely grant him passage with good will, but also money to beare his charges. Howbeyt himself, trusting uppon the kinges courtesy, had sent his ships home before and was enteryd on his journey; yeat he had not gone fur whan thambassadors returnyd, so that greatly comfortyd by that benyfyt and replenished with good hope he returnyd into Brytayne, supposing that from thencefurth he must take an other

Polam.

The earle of Richmonds shipes being scatered durst not land.

course. But being in Brytayne he had intelligence by his frindes that the duke of Buchingham was beheadyd in England; that the marquyse Dorset, with a well great number of thinglishe nobylytie, was commyd thither a little before to seke him, and remanyd at Vanes; which newys whan he understoode to be trew, he muche lamentid that the first attempt of those noble personages had fallen so evell owt, yet on thother syd rejoysing that he had so many notable captanes partakers of that warre, and withall conceaving eaven than almost an assuryd opynion that all his affayres wer firmly strengthenyd, and that his cause wold coome well to passe, he adjudgyd yt mete for him to use celerytie. Wherfor, going unto Reynes, he sent furthwith certane of his retynew to bring the marquyse and thother noble and woorshipfull unto him. They having knowledge that erle Henry was, after long wandering, returnyd safe into Brytayne, rejoysed woonderusly (for, being ignorant in what part of the world he was become, they fearyd least he had faullen into the handes of king Richerd) and so reparyed to him in all hast thick and threfold. Heare, after muche mutuall congratulation made, and that they had delyberatyd of dealyng in their causis certane days, the day of Chrystes natyvytee was coomyd uppon, which, meting all in the churche, they ratyfied all other thinges by plyghting of their trouths and solemne covenantes; and first of all erle Henry uppon his othe promysyd, that so soone as he showld be king he wold mary Elyzabeth, king Edwards dowghter; than aftir they swore unto him homage as thowghe he had bene already created king, protesting that they wold losse not onely ther landes and possessions, but ther lyves, before ever they wold suffer, beare, or permyt, that Richerd showld rewle over them and theirs. Whan this was done erle Henry reportyd all to the duke, and prayd him hartely to ayde him with more ample supply, that he might returne furthwith into his cowntry, much desyringe his presence, and especially to lend him money, for so

The marquess Dorset aryved in Brittany.

Rhedones.

much as that which he had already receavyd of his frindes was spent in furnishing of the former warre, and promysyd that he wold faythfully repay what soo ever he showld receave, and in time to coome plentyfully requyte the dukes singular lyberalytie with all indevor, care, and diligence. The duke promysyd him ayde, whereuppon trusting he took uppon him agane the care of preparing a navy, and made himself ready to the sea, that he showld not be hinderyd from any attempt by laches of time.

The duke of Brittany furnishethe the duke of Richmond for his journey.

In the meane whyle king Richerd, being returnyd to London, commandyd certane that wer guyltie of the conspyracy who wer taken in sundrye places all at once, and emong them George Broune, Roger Clyffoord, Thomas Selenger, knightes, also Thomas Ramney, Robert Clyffoorth, and dyvers others, yea of his owne howsehold, to be put to death. Afterward he assemblyd a parlyament, wherin he procuryd all thexyles to be denoncyd traytors to ther countree by act of parlyament; then all ther goodes to be confiyscate, and not content with that pray, though very riche, he fynally causyd a great tax of money to be imposyd uppon the people, for he had bene of late so lavashing in rewards, seking by suche meane to purge himself, and win favor of the commonaltie, that he began now to be nedy. But yt went very hard that Thomas Stanley also was not accowntyd emongest the number of the kinges enemyes, by reason of the practyses of Margaret his wyfe, mother unto erle Henry, who was commonly caulyd the head of that conspyracy; but, for as muche as the woorking of a womans wit was thowght of smaule accounte, the cownsell therfor set downe and commandyd that Thomas, who proovid himself guiltles of the offence, showld remove from his wyfe all hir servantes, and kepe hir so strayt with himself that she showld not be hable from thencefurth to send any messenger nether to hir soone, nor frinds, nor practise any thing at all agaynst the king; which was doone accordingly. Also by authorytie of the same

Diveres of the earle of Richemonds confederates put to deathe.

A parliament cauled and suche as wente over to the earle of Richmond weare attaynted.

The countys of Richemonds servantes removed from her.

parlyament a peace was made with the Scottes, who a lyttle before had run forrows about the borders. Whan these thinges wer thus concludyd, all the conspyracy semyd in a maner extinguyshyd; the duke beinge taken away and other his confederates partly executyd, partly exylyd into foreyn countreys. But king Richerd, as yeat more dowtynge than trusting in his owne cause, was vexyd, wrestyd, and tormentyd in mynd with feare almost perpetually of therle Henry and his confederates returne; wherfor he had a myserable lyfe, who to ryd himself of this inward gryefe, determynyd fynally to pull up by the rootes all matter of feare and tumult, and other by guyle or force to bring the same abowt. And so after suche resolution taken he thought no way more fytt or commendable than to solycit agane the duke of Brytayne, for money, prayer, and reward, because yt lay in his hand to dispatche him quyte of all perill, and therfore he sent furthwith specyall messengers to the duke, who, besydes great gyftes which they caryed with them, showld promise to geave him yerely the whole revenues of all the lands appertaining to earle Henry, and the resydew of thinglishe nobylyte that wer with him, yf he wold from thencefurth kepe them with him in ward. The messengers being gone with this maner message could not deale this matter with the duke, for that he was becoome feble by reason of sore and dayly siknes and began to maddle; wherfor Peter Landofe his treasurer, a man both of sharpe wit and great authorytie, rewlyd all matters as himself lyst, who for that cause had stirryd upp grevously agaynst himself thenvy of the Bryttishe nobylytie. This man dyd thiglyshe ambassadors deale withall, and explaning ther commyssion besowght him earnestly that he, who might do all thinges as hym lyst, wold fulfill king Richerds dayly desire. Peter, who was in great hatryd of his owne countrymen, supposing that yf he showld satisfy king Richerd he showld be more mightie againe his adversaryes, awnsweryd that he wold do the thing which king Richerd requyryd, so that he

A peace with Scotland.

R. 3 sent a new messengere to the duke of Brittany promysynge great rewardes.

wold kepe promyse. And all this dyd he by reason of cyvyll enemytie; for he hated not earle Henry, whom, as we have shewyd in the former booke, he had before delyveryd from danger, at saint Maloes. Thus ever with cause we offend. But the fortune of thinglishe commonwelth was the let why this mortall covenant was not performyd: for whyle that many messengers and often letters dyd fly to and fro betwixt Peter and the king, for dispatche of the busynes, John bysshop of Ely, who lyvyd in Flanders, being certyfyed of that practyse from his fryndes owt of England, gave intelligence to Henry furthwith of the plot that was layd, by Christopher Urswyke, who was coomyd to hym owt of England abowt the same time, and advysyd therle that he showld get himself and thother noble men as soone as might be owt of Brytayne into France. Henry was than at Vanes whan he had intelligence of the fraude, who, without any stay, sent Christopher as ambassador to king Charles, to pray that he myght lawfully passe into France; which thing easyly obtanyd, thambassador returnyd spedyly unto his prince.

R. 3 practyce with councelere of the duke of Brittanye discovered to the E. of Richmonde.

Than earle Henry, thinking yt mete to provyde for his affaires with all dylygence, imparteth his purpose to few of his company, and, having learnyd the way, he sent before all thinglyshe nobilytie, faygnyng that he wold send them for supply of his pryvate causes unto the duke, who as than lay for his pleasure not farre from the boundes of Fraunce, and secretly warnyd therle of Pembruch, chief of thambassage, that whan they showld be at the borders of Brytayne, leaving suddaynly the right way, they showld get themselves into Fraunce; who, doing as they wer directyd, procedyd in ther journey contynewally withowt intermytting any one moment of time, and went unto the country of Angeow. Hymself two days after departing from Vanes, and accompanied with fyve onely servantes, feignyd to go unto a frind, who had a maner not farre of, and, because an huge multitude of Englishe people was

The earle of Richemond and his frendes flye into Fraunce.

left in the towne, nobody suspectyd his voyage; but whan he had journayed almost five myles he withdrew hastely out of the highe way into the next wood, and doing on a serving mans apparell, he as a servant folowyd one of his owne servants (who was his guyde in that journay) as thowghe he had bene his maister, and rode on with so great celerytie, keping yeat no certane way, that he made no stay any where, except yt were to bate his horses, before he had gotten himself to his company within the bounds of Angeow. Moreover, fowre days after that erle Henry had escaped by flight, Peters intent was to have set owt certane force of men, musteryd with ther captanes (which he had chosen owt to perform his wicked determynation), under pretence that he wold delyver them to erle Henry, as yt wer to accompany hym in his returne to his country, but in very dede meaning to have browght therle unwares, and suspectyng no guyle, with the resydew of the nobylyte, suddanly into pryson; that by suche haynous fact he might satisfy kinge Rycherd for the trybute which he had promysyd. But this Peter the treasurer, who wantyd no subtiltie, whan he understood that Henry was departyd, wherof his mynde gave him, sent owt horsemen incontinent every way to pursew, and if they cowld overtake him, to apprehend and bring the earle to him. The horsemen made such haste as that ther was never thing more nighe thachieving than thovertakinge of the earle; hee was scarse ne h owre entryd the boundes of France whan they cam thyther. But thinglishe men (abowt three hundreth in number), who remained at Vanes, whan they knew that erle Henry was fled, because they were not pryvy therunto, became so afeard that they wer now in utter despeare of safety; howbeyt the matter fell owt otherwyse than they demyd fyt for them to feare; for the duke, takinge yt in evell part that Henry was so uncurteously entertaynyd as that he was forcyd to fly owt of his domynyon, and for the same cause being very angry with Peter, uppon whom, thowghe

himself was ignorant of all the practyse, he layd the blame of that offence, cawlyd unto him Edward Ponings, and thother Edward Woodvyll, and geaving them money to beare the charges of ther journey, commanded them to conduct all thinglishe men to therle. And so earl Henry, having receavyd all his retynew, was woonderus glad, who, because he wold not be accowntyd unthankfull, sent back dyvars unto the duke tadvertyse on his behalf, that presently hee thankyd him for the saftie of himself and all his company, which thereafter in time he wold not fale to requyte. But hee within few days after reparyd unto king Charles, who was at a towne sytuate uppon the ryver of Loire caulyd Angiers; unto whom, after thankes geaven for the benefytes receavyd, he first explanyd the cause of his cooming, than he besowght ayd wherby, throwgh his immortal benyfyt, he might returne safely unto his owne nobylytie, of whom he was generally caulyd unto the kingdom, so muche dyd they abhorre the tyranny of king Richerd. King Charles promysyd him ayd, and bad him be of good chere, for he wold willingly shew his goodwill, who furthwith after departyd to Montarge, taking Henry with him and all the trane of his nobylytie. During the time of Henry his abode heare John earle of Oxfoord, whom we have above mentionyd to have bene holden in ward of king Edward in the castle of Hammes, togyther with James Blunt the captane therof, and John Fortescew knight, the gentleman porter of Calys, subornyd by the erle, cam unto him; but captane James, because hee left his wyfe in the castle, had furnissyd the same with new garryson before his departure thence. Whan Henry saw therle he was ravisshyd with joy incredible that a man of so great nobilytie and knowledge in the warres, and of most perfyte and sownd fydelytie, most earnestly bent to his syde, was at the last by Gods assistance delyveryd owt of ward, and in so fyt tyme coommyd to help him, in whome he might repose his hope, and settle himself more safely than in any other;

The duke of Brittany send the residue of earl Henryes trayne after him into France upon his charge.

Angeū.

King Charles of France yelds ayd to earle Henry.

The earle of Oxford and otheres came over into France to the earle of Richemond.

for he was not ignorant that others who had holden on king Edward syde yealdid unto him by reason of the evell state of time, but this man who had so oft foughte for king Henry was he thowght delyveryd from that ward by the hevenly help, that he might have one of his owne faction to whom he might safely commyt all thinges; and therfor rejoysing above all measure for therle of Oxfoorthis cooming, he began to hope better of his affaires.

Not long after king Charles removyd to Paris, whom erle Henry folowyd, and sowght there to bring to passe his sute, requesting king Charles agane to take him wholy to his tuytion, so that yf he and his confederates showld be in safetie they might all lykewyse also acknowledge the same receavyd at his hand. In the meane time very many Englishe men, who ether dyd flok contynewally owt of England, or were ther studyouse of learning, gave and vowyd upp themselves wholy to take his part. Emongest these was Richard Fox, priest, a man of an excellent wyt, a man learnyd, whom Henry receavyd immediatly to be of his privy counsaile, and browght within short whyle to great honor, who is now bisshop of Wynchester.

Richard Fox, priest, after bishop of Winchester, came to earl Henry to France.

Richerd in the meane time having intelligence what covenants the confederats in Brytayn had made emongest themselves, and how they had all escapyd into France by the conduct of earle Henry, thowgh he wer greatly disapoyntyd because his craftie practyse had not procedyd, yeat he determynyd to prevent by an other way that thearle Henry showld not coom unto the kingdom by maryage of hys nece Elyzabeth. And because, in comparyson of thorrible factes which, blyndyd with desyre of soveraigntie, he had before enterprysyd, all other thinges that he showld do aftirward semyd in his estimation but smaule matters (according as the proverb putteth us in remembrance, He will lyft up an oxe that hath caryed a calfe), ther cam therfor into his mynde matter

the most wickyd to be spoken, and the fowlest to be commyttyd, that ever was herd of. For whyle he revolvyd with himself how great heap of myschiefe wer immynent yf Henry should be avaunced by maryage of his nece, uppon thonly rumor wherof he herd of dyvers who semyd already carefull for therles affayres; he therfor determynyd, by all meanes possyble, to reconcyle unto him Elyzabeth the quene, that she myght yeald hir self and hir dowghters into his handes, and Henry by that meane defraudyd from thaffynitie of his nece; and yf yt wer not possible to salve the sores immynent otherwyse, and that by hap it myght fortune his wyfe too dye, than he wold rather mary his nece himself than by thaffynytie aforesayd to danger the state, as thowgh by his faule the ruyne of the realme must nede folow. And so he sent into the saintwary often messengers unto the quene to make unto hir purgation of his fact, and by promysing mountaynes both unto hir and hir soon Thomas the marquise to put the woman in passing great hope. The messengers being grave men, though at the first by reducyng to memory the slawghter of hir soonnes they soomwhat wowndyd the quenes mynde, and that hir gryefe semyd scarse hable to be comfortid, yeat they assayed hir by so many meanes, and so many fayre promisses, that withowt muche adoe they began to mollyfy hir (for so mutable is that sex), in so muche that the woman herd them willingly, and fynally sayd she wold yeald hir selfe unto the king; and so not very long after, forgetting injuryes, forgetting hir faith and promyse geaven to Margaret, Henryes mother, she first delyvered hir dowghters into the handes of king Richerd; than aftir by secret messengers advysyd the marquyse her soon, who was at Parys, to forsake erle Henry, and with all speede convenyent to returne into England, wher he showld be sure to be caulyd of the king unto highe promotion. Whan the quene was thus qualyfyed, king Richerd receavyd all his brothers dawghters owt of saintuary into the court. Thonely

R. 3 labores to perswad Q. Eliz. to come out of santuary and delyver hir daughtere to him.

R. 3 practysed the deathe of his queene.

matter now remaning was to acquyte himself of marriage, which he adjudgyd best for him to do by all meane possible; but this savage and crewell mynde of his was no lytle fearyd from so great and owtrageous fact, for that (as we have before mentyonyd) he had of late counterfaytyd to be a good man, and therfor was afeard least by the untymely death of his wyfe he showld hinder the good opynyon which he belevyd the people had conceavyd uppon him. But the wickyd intent wan the mastery in the wyt wayward from all righteousnes; for first he forbare to lye with her, and withall began to complane muche unto many noble men of his wyfes unfruytfulnes, for that she browght him furth no children, and that chiefly dyd he lament with Thomas Rotheram archebysshop of York, because he was a grave and good man, whom he had a lyttle before let owt of prison (who thereuppon gatheryd and supposyd yt wold come to passe that the quene should not long lyve, and foreshewyd the same to dyvers his frinds). Than after he procuryd a rumor (uncertane from whom) to be spred abrode of the quene his wyfes death, that ether the woman being browght in great dolor, by report and fame of the matter, might faule into siknes, ether els that he might therby take a proofe yf the same showld happen afterward whether the people wold lay the blame therof unto his charge. But whan the quene herd of suche terrible rumors dispersyd already of hir owne death, supposing that hir days wer at an end, she went unto her husband very pensyffe and sadde, and with many teares demandyd of him what cause ther was why he should determyne hyr death. Hereunto the king, least that he might seme hard hartyd yf he showld shew unto his wyfe no signe of loove, kissing hir, made awnswer loovingly, and comfortyng hir, bad hir be of good chere. But the quene, whether she wer dispatchyd with sorowfulnes, or poyson, dyed within few days after, and was buryed at Westmynster. This ys Anne that thone of the daughters of Richerd erle of Warweke who was soom

R. 3 his queen died sodenly.

tyme covenantyd to prince Edward, soon to king Henry the Sixt. The king, thus lowsyd from the bond of matrimony, began to cast an eye uppon Elyzabeth his nece, and to desyre hir in maryage; but because both the yowng lady hirself, and all others, did abhorre the wickednes so detestable, he determynyd therfor to do every thing by leysure, for so muche especially as he was overwhelmyd with pinching cares on every hand; for that soom man of name passyd over dayly unto Henry, others favoryd secretly the parteners of the conspyracy. Emongest these principally was Thomas Stanley, William his brother, Gylbert Talbot, and others innumerable, whose inward mynde thowgh Richerd was ignorant of, yeat he trustyd never one of them all, and Thomas Stanley least of all others, because he had in maryage Henryes mother, as the matter yt self made manyfest shew; for whan he at that time wold have gone into his countrie, for his pleasure as he sayd, but indede that he might be ready to receave erle Henry as a frind at his cooming, the king forbad him, and wold not suffer him to depart before he had left George lord Strange his soone as a pledge in the court.

The lo. Stanley and others of the conspyracye of the E. of Richmond.

Whyle king Richerd was thus occupied in so great trouble of mynde and alteration of devyses for feare of stirre to coome, beholde he heard that the same was broken owt, for hee had intelligence that the castle of Hammes held with Henry by meane of therle of Oxfoorth, and that he, with James Blunt, captane therof, were fled to Henry himself; wherefore thinkinge yt best to withstand the begynning, he sent furthwith to recover the hold, a good part of the garryson which was at Calys. Those who wer within the castle, whan they saw thadversary approche, armyd themselves quikly to the defense, and anon sent messengers to erle Henry to demand ayd. Henry withowt delay commandyd therle of Oxfoorth with choyse soldiers to go and help his frinds, who in ther first arryvall encampyd themselves not farre from the

R. 3 had notice that the castell of Hames held with the E. of Richmond.

castle; the whyle they held ther enemys intentyve uppon that part, Thomas Brandon, with thirtie valyant man, entryd the castle by the marishe, which joingneth unto the place. Than they who wer within, having receavyd new supply, skrymysshyd with thennemy from the waule more sharply than before. Therle of Oxfoorth also at ther bakes was no lesse earnest; wherby yt fell owt that thenemyes of ther owne free will gave unto the besegyd fre lybertie to depart with bagg and baggage, which condytion therle of Oxfoorth, who came for that ende to delyver his frindes from danger, and especyally the wyfe of James, the captane therof, dyd not refuse, but leaving the castle returnyd safe with his company to Parys. King Richerd after this understoode by his spyalls that Henry, hinderyd emongest the Frenche by reason of the time, grew weary with contynuall demaunding of ayd, that he profytyd nothing, nor that any thing went forward with him, but that all thinges which he dilygently had devysyd fell owt not well; which whan he belevyd to be so, as thowgh he had vanquisshed the whole warres, and had bene delyveryd from all feare, supposyd that ther was no cause why he showld take such care in a matter of no danger, caulyd his shipps from ther stations, and all the soldiers which he had before placyd heare and there to kepe of thenemy; but least he might be found altogether unready, he commandyd noble men and gentlemen dwellynge about the sea coste, and chiefly the Walshe men, to kepe watche by course after ther country maner, to thintent that his adversaryes showld not have ready recovery of the shore and coome a land; for thinhabytantes about the sea costes place, in the time of warre especyally, on the hylls adjoyning lampes fastenyd upon frames of timber, and whan any great or notable matter happeneth, by reason of thapproche of enemyes, they suddanely lyght the lampes, and with showtes through towne and fielde geave notice therof; from thence others aftirward receave and utter unto ther neighbors

Hames castle delyvered by the earle of Richemonds people.

Beakones prepared in Wales and all places.

notice after the same sort. Thus ys the fame therof caryed spedyly to all villages and townes, and both country and towne arme themselves agaynst thenemy. And thus king Richerd, soomwhat easyd of his griefe, began to be more careles, least otherwise he might by dylygence have avoydyd the desteny that hang over his head; for suche is the force of the divine justice, that a man lesse seath, lesse provydeth, and lesse hede taketh when he ys nighe the yealding of punishement for his haynous offences.

At that time that Henry stayd in France for thobtaning of ayde very many noble men were, by reason of king Charles his age, rewlers of the realme, not muche agreing emong themselves, of which pryvy hatryd Lewys duke of Orleance was head, who, seing he had in maryage Joan syster to king Charles, strove to beare chief sway in the government of the commonwelth; by which occasyon yt cam to passe that the charge of thempire was commyttyd to no one man; and erle Henry, who day and night omyttyd no oportunytie of hastening his voyage into his country, was compellyd to go and make earnest sute unto every man particularly. So was the matter driven of, when Thomas marquise Dorcest, whom we have before sayd to have bene cauled home of his mother, partely despearing for that cause of erle Henryes succesce, partly subornyd by king Richerds fayre promyses, departyd pryvyly in the night time from Parys, and with great journeys travalyd into Flanders; which thing as soone as therle and thother Englishe nobylytie understoode they were muche moovyd, and desyryd of king Charles that they might by his commandment stay the man who was pryvy to all ther purposes whersoever he should be fownd, and ther sute obteynyd began to ryde owt every way. But Humfrey Cheyney, savoring most subtilly the trace of him that went before, followyd the right way, and overtooke the marquise at the towne of Compiegne, and so perswadyd him that a little after he returnyd to his felowes. Erle Henry, easyd of that

Thomas marques Dorset fleags towards England from the E. of Richmond.

The marques Dorset came back agayne by the perswasyon of Homfrey Cheyney.

griefe, determynyd that yt was not for him to linger, but to use all the celerytie that might be, least by dowting and differring of time he should losse great oportunitie, or least longer looking for might trooble more the myndes of his frinds who awaytyd for his coomming. And so, obtaynyng of king Charles a sclender supply, and borowyng as well of him as of other pryvate frinds certane money, for the which he left sureties, or rather pledges, the marquyse and John Burschere, he departyd to Roan. While he taryed here, and riggyd his navy at the mouth of Seyne, a rumor came unto his eare that king Richerd, his wife being dead, was amyndyd to mary Elizabeth, his brother Edwardes dowghter, and that he had maryed Cecyly, Edwards other doughter, unto an obscure man of no reputation. This matter being of no smaule weyght, as the which cut away from the confederates all hope of executyng ther delyberat resolution, pinchid Henry by the veray stomak, because therby he saw that he cowld not now expect the marriage of any of king Edwardes dowghters, wherfor he thowght yt was to be fearyd least his frindes showld forsake him. The matter therfor being browght to consultation of a few, yt lyked them to prefer the same, before the profection, that they might assay if any other cowld be adjoignyd, and yt was thowght to stand with ther profyt yf by affynytie they cowld draw into suryetie of that warre Gwalter Harbert, a man of ancyent authorytie emong the Welshe men, who had with him a sister marrageable; and to procure the same messengers were sent to Henry earl of Northumberland, who had in marriage Gualters other sister, that he wold deale in that cause; but the ways were so beset that none of them could coome unto him. But a better messenger came from John Morgan, a lawyer, who signyfyed the same tyme that Richerd, by surname Thomas, a man of great service and valyant, and John Savage, wer wholy geauen to erle Henryes affayres, and that Reynold Bray had made up no smaule summ of

Pledges left with the king of France for moneye lente E. Henry.

The E. of Richmonde sent messengers to Gualter Harberte to have his ayde, and promysed to marye his sister.

A messenger frō Jo. Morgent to admonishe E. of Richmond to haste into England.

money to pay soldyers wages withall, and therfor advysyd him that as soone as oportunytie showld serve he wold take the streight way into Wales.

E. of Richmond arrivethe at Milford Haven.

Than Henry, thinkinge yt nedefull to make haste, that his frinds showld not be any longer kept in perplexytie betwene hope and drede, uncertane what to do, after he had made his prayers to God that he might have an happy and prosperous journey, he lowsyd from the mowth of Seyne with two thousand onely of armyd men and a few shippes, the calends of August, and with a soft suthren wynde. The weather being very fayre he came unto Wales the 7th day after, a lyttle before soone set, wher, entring thaven caulyd Milford, and furthwith going a land, he took

Dalla.

first a place the name wherof ys Dalley, wher he herd that certane companyes of his adversaryes had had ther stations the wynter by past to have kept him from landing. From thence departing in

Hare-foorde.

the breake of day he went to Haverforde, which ys a towne not xne. myles from Dalley, wher he was receavyd with great goodwill of all men, and the same he dyd with suche celerytie as that he was present and spoken of all at once. Heare he understandeth that Rycherd Thomas and John Savage, with all ther force and

Arnold Butlere came to the E. of Richmond with his forces.

frindes, dyd help king Richerd to thuttermost of ther power, clene contrary to that he was certyfyed of in Normandy. But thinhabytants of Pembrough at the same very time comfortyd all ther dysmayed myndes, for they gave intelligence, by Arnold Butler, a valyant man, demanding forgeavenes of ther former offences, that they wer ready to serve Jaspar ther erle. Henry, his army thus augmentyd, departyd from Hareford, and goeth forward v. myles toward Cardygan. The whyle the soldyers refreshyd themselves hear a rumor was suddaynly spred throwgh the whole camp, thautor wherof was uncertane, that Gwalter Herbert and those who wer in camp at the towne of Carmardyne wer at hand with an huge army. Wheruppon a stirre rose streightway, every man

mayd ready his armor, assayd his weapon, and began to advance the same, and all men wer in feare therwith a lyttle whyle, whan as thorsemen sent owt before hand to scurrey by erle Henry brought home woord that all thynges (as they wer in dede) wer quiet, and that ther was no hinderance to ther voyage immynent; but one Gryfyne, a man of highe parentage, did above the rest make them all mery, who, thowgh before he had joingnyd with Gualter Harbert and Rycherd, yeat almost at the very same instant revoltyd with his company of soldiers, few though they wer, to erle Henry. The same very day also John Morgan came to the sayd Henry. Thus Henry went forward without stay almost in any place, and that he might have more ready passage he set uppon dyvers fortresses furnyshyd with garryson of his adversaryes, and the same wan without any difficultie; and whan as after these thinges he understoode by the scowtts that Harbert and Rycherd wer before him in armes, he resolvyd to go agaynst them, and whan he had ether put them to flight or receavyd them into his obedience to make haste against king Richerd. But that he might advertise his frinds of his proceedinges, he sent unto Margaret his mother, to the Stanleys, to the lord Talbot, and others, certane of his most faythfull servants with secrete messages, theffect wherof was that he, trusting to the ayde of his frynds, had determynyd to passe over Severn, and throwgh Shropshire to go to London, and therfor desyryd them to mete him, with whom in place and time convenyent he wold impart more of his intent. Thus having dispatchyd the messengers with this message, himself procedyd forward toward Shrewsbury, whom Richerd Thomas met by the way with a great bande of soldiers, and with assuryd promysse of loyaltie yealdyd himself to his protection. Two days before Henry had promysyd to Richerd Thomas the perpetuall lyvetenantship of Wales, so that he wold coome under his obedience, which afterward when he had obtanyd the kingdom he gave lyberally. In the meane time the

One Griffyne broughte his forces to the E. of Richmond.

Jo. Morgane broughte his foarces to E. Henry.

The E. of Richemond sent to the Standleys and his mothere to advertis them of his coming.

Ric. Thomas joynes his poure with the E. of Richemond.

Ric. Thomas promysed the leaftenancye of Wales.

messengers having executyd ther charge with dylygence, and loden with money which they had receavyd of every man to whom they wer sent, returnyd unto Henry the same very day that he came to Shrewsbury, and signyfyed that his frinds wold be ready to do ther dewties in time convenyent. Herewithall Henry beinge browght in good hope, contynewyd furth the journey he had begun and cam to a village which thinhabytants caule Newport, and, pightching his tentes uppon the next hill, taryed ther all the night. Ther came unto him in the evening Gilbert Talbot, with v.$^{c.}$ and moe armyd men. After that he marchyd on to Staffoord, unto whom, the while of his abode ther, came William Stanley, with a smaule retynew, who, having short talk with him, returnyd to his soldiers, whom he gathered togythers. From thence departing he went to Lychefelde, and that night taryed withowt the waule. The next day after, very early in the morning, he enteryd the towne, and was honorably receavyd. The third day before, Thomas Stanley had bene at the same place, gardyd with few lesse than fyve thowsand men well armyd, who, understandinge of Henryes approche, went before, without delay, to a village caulyd Aderstone, meaning ther to tary till Henry showld draw nere. This he dyd to avoyd suspition, fearing yf before they showld coome to hand strokes he showld overtly shew himself to stand and hold with erle Henry, least that king Richerd, who as yeat did not utterly mistrust his loyaltie, might kill his soone George, whom, as we have before sayd, he held in custody as a pledge.

Gylbert Talbot comes to y^{e} E. of Richemond.

W^{m} Stanley came to y^{e} E of Richemond.

Thomas lord Stanley came to the E. of Richemond.

But Richerd in the meane time, being then at Notingham, was certyfyed that Henry and thother exiles who tooke his part wer coommyd into Wales, and that he was utterly unfurnyshyd and feble in all thinges, contrary wyse that his men whom he had dispōsyd for defense of that province wer ready in all respectes. That rumor so puffyd him upp in mynde that first he estemyd the matter not muche to be regardyd, supposing that Henry,

having procedyd rashly, consydering his smaule company, should surely have an evell ende whan he showld coome to that place, wher ether he should be forcyd to fyght against his will, or taken alyve by Gualter Harbert and Richard Thomas, who rewlyd in Wales with equal authoritie. But afterward, waynge with him self that a smaule matter in the warres made soome time great stirre, and that yt was a poynt of wysdom not to contemne the forces of hys enemye, thoughe they wer but smaule, he thowght best to provyde in time for the event to coom; and therfor he commandyd Henry erle of Northumberland, and other noble men that wer his frinds, who he hoped wold prefer his safety before all that ever they had, to make furthwyth muster of soldiers, and with ther forces furnysshyd to repare spedely to him. Also by often messengers and letters he commandyd Robert Brakenbury, lyvetennant of the towr of London, to coome to him in all haste, and to bring with him, as felows in warr, Thomas Burshere, Gwalter Hungerfurd, and many other gentlemen of thorder of knighthoode, whom he had in suspicion. While these thinges wer a doing, yt was reportyd that Henry, withowt any annoyance receavyd, was coomyd unto Shrewsbury; with which message the king, much movyd, began with grief to be in a fervent rage, and cry vehemently out uppon the falshood of them who had broken promyse, and withall to have less confydence in others, in so muche that the very first day that oportunitie wold permyt he determynyd to go agaynst his enemyes, and suddanely sent furth scurryers to view what way they held. The scurryers, doing ther devoyr dilygently, returned not long after and advertysyd that Henry was encampyd at Lichefelde: which whan he knew, because an huge number of men in armes wer now assemblyd, his soldyers beinge brought furth into good aray, he commandyd the armye to marche forward in square battayll that way by the which they understoode ther enemies wold coome, and, all impedimentes being

R. 3 sent to Robert Brakenbury the lieutenant of the towere, commanding him to bring with him some of his prisoners.

gatheryd into the middest of tharmy, himself, with his gard, dyd folow the wings of horsemen ranging on both sydes; so, keping ther aray, they came unto Leycester a little before the soone sett, whan as the meane while Henry, removing from Lichefelde, travalyd to go unto the next village, which is caulid Tamworth, whom Gualter Hungerford, Thomas Burscher, and many other met by the way, who yealdyd themselves to his obeyssance; for they, perceavynge that king Richerd had them in jelosy, because they wold not be brought to ther enemy agaynst ther willes, forsaking Robert Brakenbury a lyttle beyond Stony Stratford, went away to therle Henry in the night season. Ther flockyd to him also many other noble men of warre, who from day to day hatyd king Richerd woorse than all men lyving.

Waltere Hungerford and Tho. Bourchere came to the E. of Richmond.

Ther happenyd in this voyage unto erle Henry a chance worthy memory; for thoughe he wer of noble corage, and that his forces augmentyd every wher, yeat was he in great feare, because he thought that he cowld not assure himself of Thomas Stanley, who, as I have shewyd, for that he fearyd the danger that king Richerd might doo his soon, dyd enclyne as yeat to nether partie; and as touching king Richardes causes, yt was told him muche otherwyse than his frinds had signyfyed, which was, that nothing was more firme, nothing better furnysshyd: wherfor, consydering his feare was not for nothing, himself, accompanyed with xx^{tie} armed men onely, stayed by the way, uncertane what was best as to delyberat what he might do. Moreover he herd that king Richerd, with an host innumerable, was at hand. While he thus, soomwhat sadd, folowyd alofe, all tharmy cam to Tamworth, and whan as by reason of the night which came uppon him he could not discerne the trace of them that wer gone before, and so after long wandering cõuld not finde his company, he cam unto a certane towne more than thre myles from his camp, full of feare; who, least he might be betrayed, durst not aske questyons of any man, but taryed ther

all that night, no more afrayed for the present than for the perill to coom; for he was afeard that the same might be a signe of soom maner plague to ensew. Nether was the army lesse heavy for the suddane absence of ther captane, whan as Henry the next day after, in the gray of the morning, returnyd to the hoste, excusing himselfe that he was not deceavyd in the way, but had withdrawen from the camp of set purpose to receave soome goode newys of certane his secret frindes. After that he went pryvyly to Adderstone, wher Thomas Stanley and William lay encampyd. Here Henry dyd mete with Thomas and William, wher taking one an other by thand, and yealding mutuall salutation, eche man was glad for the good state of thothers, and all ther myndes wer movyd to great joy. After that, they enteryd in cownsaylle in what sort to darraigne battayll with king Rycherd, yf the matter showld coome to strokes, whom they herd to be not farre of. A lyttle before thevening of the same day, John Savage, Bryan Sanfoord, Symon Digby, and many others, revolting from king Richard, came to Henry with a choyse bande of armyd men, which matter both augmentyd the forces of erle Henry, and greatly replenyshyd him with good hope.

The earle of Richmond & Tho. lord Stanley mette.

John Savage & others come to the E. of Richmond.

In the meane time king Richard, hearing that thennemy drew neare, came first to the place of fight, a little beyond Leycester (the name of that village ys Boswoorth), and ther, pightching his tentes, refresshyd his soldiers that night from ther travale, and with many woords exhortyd them to the fyght to coome. Yt ys reportyd that king Rycherd had that night a terryble dreame; for he thowght in his slepe that he saw horryble ymages as yt wer of evell spyrytes haunting evydently abowt him, as yt wer before his eyes, and that they wold not let him rest; which visyon trewly dyd not so muche stryke into his brest a suddane feare, as replenyshe the same with heavy cares: for furthwith after, being troublyd in mynde, his hart gave him theruppon that thevent of

The batle at Bosworthe.

R. 3 his fatall dreame.

the battale folowing wold be grevous, and he dyd not buckle himself to the conflict with such lyvelyness of corage and countenance as before, which hevynes that yt showld not be sayd he shewyd as appallyd with feare of his enemyes, he reportyd his dreame to many in the morning. But (I beleve) yt was no dreame, but a conscyence guiltie of haynous offences, a conscyence (I say) so muche the more grevous as thoffences wer more great, which, thowght at none other time, yeat in the last day of owr lyfe ys woont to represent to us the memory of our sinnes commyttyd, and withall to shew unto us the paynes immynent for the same, that, being uppon good cause penytent at that instant for our evell led lyfe, we may be compellyd to go hence in heavynes of hart. Now I return to my purpose. The next day after king Richerd, furnysshyd throwghly with all maner of thinges, drew his whole hoste owt of ther tentes, and arraieth his vanward, stretching yt furth of a woonderfull lenght, so full replenyshyd both with foote men and horsemen that to the beholders afar of yt gave a terror for the multitude, and in the front wer placyd his archers, lyke a most strong trenche and bulwark; of these archers he made leder John duke of Norfolk. After this long vanward folowyd the king himself, with a choyce force of soldiers. In this meane time Henry, being departyd bak from the conference with his frinds, began to take better hart, and without any tary encampyd himself nighe his enemyes, wher he restyd all night, and well early in the morning commandyd the soldiers to arm themselves, sending withall to Thomas Stanley, who was now approchyd the place of fight, as in the mydde way betwixt the two battaylles, that he wold coom to with his forces, to sett the soldiers in aray. He awnsweryd that the earle showld set his owne folkes in order, whyle that he should coome to him with his army well apoyntyd. With which answer, geaven contrary to that was looked for, and to that which thoportunytie of time and weight of cause requyryd,

thowghe Henry wer no lyttle vexyd, and began to be soomwhat appallyd, yeat withowt lingering he of necessytie orderyd his men in this sort. He made a sclender vanward for the smaule number of his people; before the same he placyd archers, of whom he made captane John erle of Oxfoord; in the right wing of the vanward he placyd Gilbert Talbot to defend the same; in the left veryly he sat John Savage; and himself, trusting to thayd of Thomas Stanley, with one troup of horsemen, and a fewe footemen dyd folow; for the number of all his soldiers, all maner of ways, was scarce v.M. besydes the Stanleyans, wherof about 3.M. wer at the battaill, under the conduct of William. The kings forces were twyse so many and more. Thus both the vanwardes being arrayed, as soone as the soldiers might one se an other afur of, they put on ther head peces and preparyd to the fyght, expectyng thalarme with intentyve eare. Ther was a marishe betwixt both hostes, which Henry of purpose left on the right hand, that yt might serve his men instede of a fortresse, by the doing therof also he left the soon upon his bak; but whan the king saw thenemyes passyd the marishe, he commandyd his soldiers to geave charge uppon them. They making suddanely great showtes assaultyd thennemy first with arrowes, who wer nothing faynt unto the fyght but began also to shoote fearcely; but whan they cam to hand strokes the matter than was delt with blades. In the meane tyme therle of Oxfoord, fearing lest hys men in fyghting might be envyronyd of the multitude, commandyd in every rang that no soldiers should go above tenfoote from the standerds; which charge being knowen, whan all men had throng thik togethers, and stayd a whyle from fighting, thadversaryes wer therwith aferd, supposing soom fraude, and so they all forbore the fight a certane space, and that veryly dyd many with right goodwill, who rather covetyd the king dead than alyve, and therfor fowght fayntly. Than therle of Oxforth in one part, and others in an other part,

with the bandes of men closse one to an other, gave freshe charge uppon thenemy, and in array tryangle vehemently renewyd the conflict. Whyle the battayll contynewyd thus hote on both sydes betwixt the vanwardes, king Richard understood, first by espyalls wher erle Henry was a farre of with smaule force of soldiers abowt him; than after drawing nerer he knew yt perfytely by evydent signes and tokens that yt was Henry; wherfor, all inflamyd with ire, he strick his horse with the spurres, and runneth owt of thone syde withowt the vanwardes agaynst him. Henry perceavyd king Richerd coome uppon him, and because all his hope was than in valyancy of armes, he receavyd him with great corage. King Richerd at the first brunt killyd certane, overthrew Henryes standerd, toygther with William Brandon the standerd bearer, and matchyd also with John Cheney a man of muche fortytude, far exceeding the common sort, who encountered with him as he cam, but the king with great force drove him to the ground, making way with weapon on every syde. But yeat Henry abode the brunt longer than ever his owne soldiers wold have wenyd, who wer now almost owt of hope of victory, whan as loe William Stanley with thre thowsand men came to the reskew: than trewly in a very moment the resydew all fled, and king Richerd alone was killyd fyghting manfully in the thickkest presse of his enemyes. In the mean time also the erle of Oxfoord after a lyttle bickering put to flight them that fowght in the forward, wherof a great company wer killed in the chase. But many mo forbare to fyght, who came to the fielde with king Richerd for aw, and for no goodwill, and departyd withowt any daunger, as men who desyryd not the safety but destruction of that prince whom they hatyd. Ther wer killyd about a M. men, and emongest them of noblemen of warre John duke of Norfolk, Gwalter L. Ferryse, Robert Brakkenbury, Rycherd Ratclyff and many moe. Two days after at Leycester, William Catesby, lawyer,

Wm. Brandone the standerd bearer to E. of Richmond overthrowne.

R. 3. slayne.

Noblemen and others slayne.

with a few that wer his felowys, were executyd. And of those that tooke them to ther fete Frauncis L. Loovell, Humfrey Staffoord, with Thomas his brother and muche more company, fled into the sayntuary of Saint John which is at Colchester, a toune by the sea syde in Essex. As for the number of captyves yt was very great; for whan king Richerd was killyd, all men furthwith threw away weapon, and frely submyttyd them selfes to Henryes obeyssance, wherof the most part wold have doone the same at the beginning, yf for king Rycherds scurryers, scowring to and fro, they myght so have doone. Emongest them the chiefe wer Henry erle of Northumberland, and Thomas erle of Surrey. This man was commyttyd to ward, wher he remaynyd long; he as frind in hart was receavyd into favor. Henry lost in that battayll scarce an hundreth soldiers, emongst whom there was one princypall man, William Brandon, who bare erle Henryes standerd. The feilde was fowghten the xjth. calends of September, in the yere of mans salvation M.CCCC.LXXXVJ, and the fight lasted more than two houres.

Wm. Catesby with others executed at Lestere.

Wm. Brandone slayne.

The report is that king Richerd might have sowght to save himself by flight; for they who wer abowt him, seing the soldiers even from the first stroke to lyft up ther weapons febly and fayntlye, and soome of them to depart the feild pryvyly, suspectyd treason, and exhortyd him to flye, yea and whan the matter began manyfestly to qwaile, they browght him swyft horses; but he, who was not ignorant that the people hatyd him, owt of hope to have any better hap afterward, ys sayd to have awnsweryd, that that very day he wold make end ether of warre or lyfe, suche great fearcenesse and suche huge force of mynd he had: wherfor, knowinge certanely that that day wold ether yeald him a peaceable and quyet realme from thencefurth or els perpetually bereve him the same, he came to the fielde with the crowne uppon his head, that therby he might ether make a beginning or ende of his

raigne. And so the myserable man had suddaynly suche end as wont ys to happen to them that have right and law both of God and man in lyke estimation, as will, impyetie, and wickednes. Surely these are more vehement examples by muche than ys hable to be utteryd with toong to tereyfy those men which suffer no time to passe free from soome haynous offence, creweltie, or mischief.

Henry, after the victory obtaynyd, gave furthwith thanks unto Almightie God for the same; than after, replenysshyd with joy incredible, he got himself unto the next hill, wher, after he had commendyd his solders, and commandyd to cure the woundyd, and to bury them that wer slane, he gave unto the nobylytie and gentlemen immortal thankes, promysing that he wold be myndfull of ther benyfyttes, all which meane whyle the soldiers cryed, God save king Henry, God save king Henry! and with hart and hand utteryd all the shew of joy that might be; which whan Thomas Stanley dyd see, he set anon king Richerds crowne, which was fownd among the spoyle in the feilde, uppon his head, as thoughe he had bene already by commandment of the people proclamyd king after the maner of his auncestors, and that was the first signe of prosperytie. After that, commanding to pak upp all bag and baggage, Henry with his victorious army procedyd in the evening to Leycester, wher, for refresshing of his soldiers from ther travaile and panes, and to prepare for going to London, he taryed two days. In the meane time the body of king Rycherd nakyd of all clothing, and layd uppon an horse bake with the armes and legges hanginge downe on both sydes, was browght to thabbay of monks Franciscanes at Leycester, a myserable spectacle in good sooth, but not unwoorthy for the mans lyfe, and ther was buryed two days after without any pompe or solemne funerall. He raigned two yeres and so many monethes, and one day over. He was lyttle of stature, deformyd of body, thone showlder being

higher than thother, a short and sowre cowntenance, which semyd to savor of mischief, and utter evydently craft and deceyt. The whyle he was thinking of any matter, he dyd contynually byte his nether lyppe, as thowgh that crewell nature of his did so rage agaynst yt self in that lyttle carkase. Also he was woont to be ever with his right hand pulling out of the sheath to the myddest, and putting in agane, the dagger which he did alway were. Trewly he had a sharp witt, provydent and subtyle, apt both to counterfayt and dissemble; his corage also hault and fearce, which faylyd him not in the very death, which, whan his men forsooke him, he rather yealded to take with the swoord, than by fowle flyght to prolong his lyfe, uncertane what death perchance soon after by sicknes or other vyolence to suffer.

THEND OF THISTORY OF KING RICHERD THE THIRD.

ERRATA.

Page 181, line penult. for *hart*, read *hurt*.
„ 187, line 25, for *enjoyned*, read *enjoyed*.
„ 205, line 26, for *thiglyshe*, read *thinglyshe*.
„ 213, line 2, for *man*, read *men*.

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